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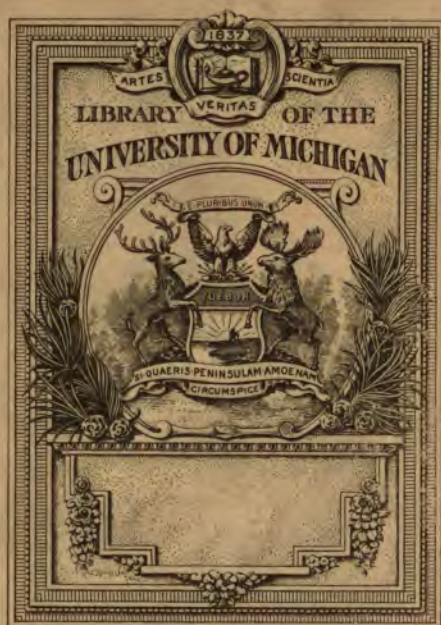
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CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

GENERAL REVIEW.

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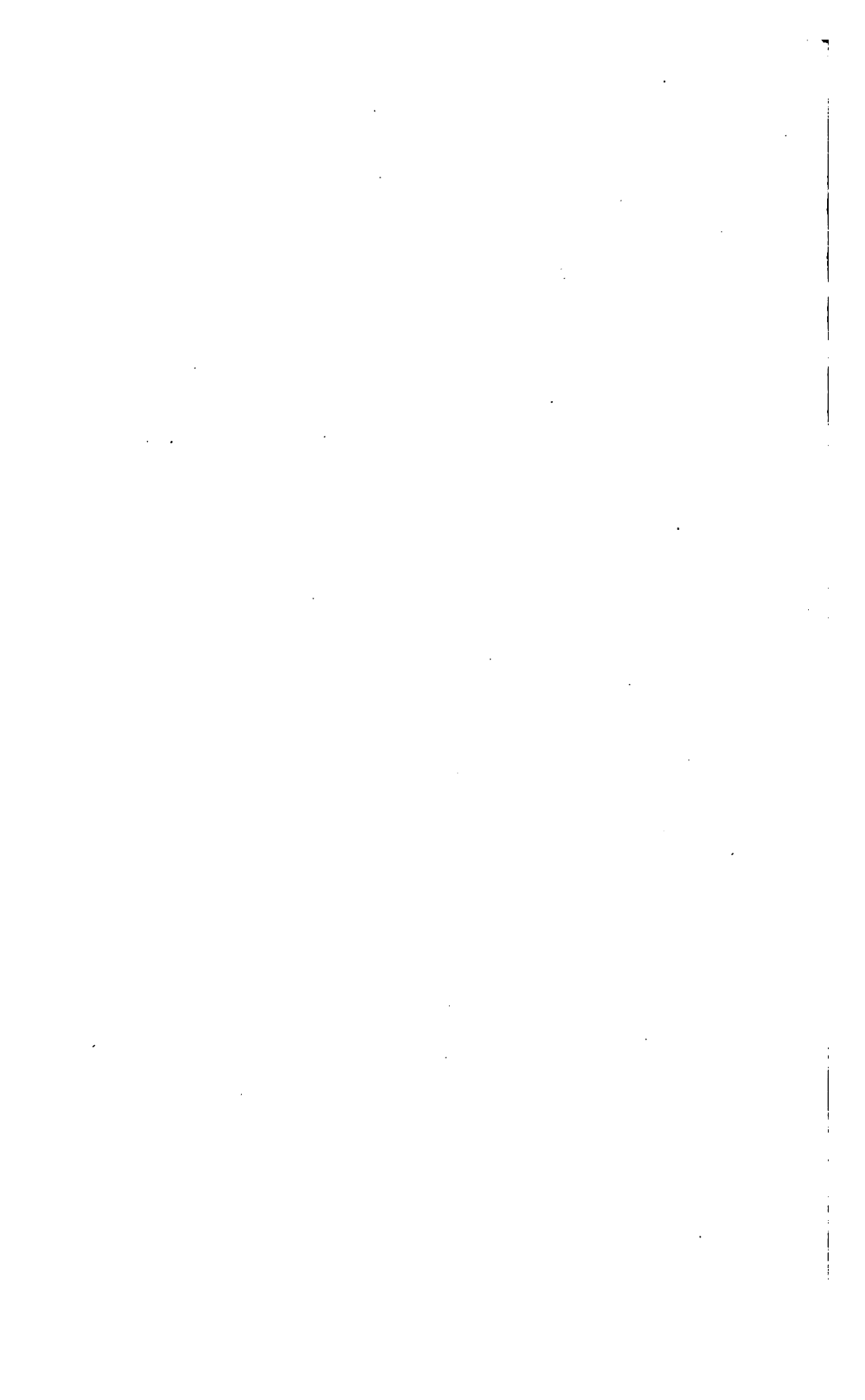
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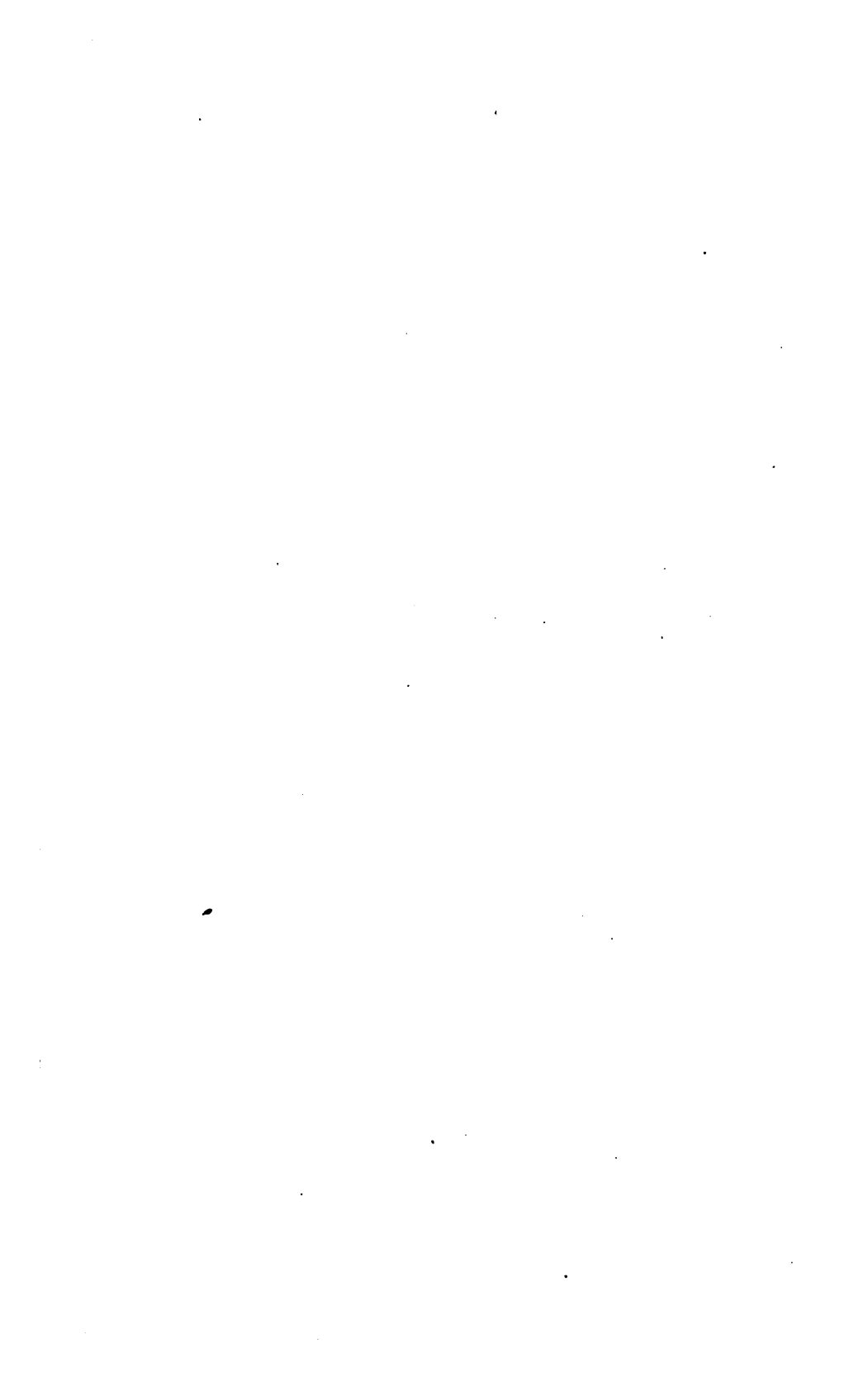


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THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

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SEPTEMBER, 1843.

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LAW OF PHYSICAL LIFE.\*

To the subject of Human Physiology, its elucidation, its importance and practical usefulness, Mr. Mann has devoted the larger portion of his last report, and has given therein a most interesting discussion upon the law of physical life. It is written with the accuracy and has the clear demonstration of science, and exhibits the beautiful fervor of eloquence and poetry, that so distinctly characterize the productions of this faithful and earnest philanthropist.

His object is to show — 1. the structure of our animal frame and of its organs, their wants, their uses and relations to the external world; 2. our responsibility concerning them; and, 3. that our health and comfort, our fulness and power of life depend upon our faithful discharge of that responsibility, and our fulfilment of the conditions of our earthly existence, and that from our unfaithfulness, in this regard for the laws of our being, come our pains, our ailments, and our early death.

This is a field of useful research ever present to every individual of the human race. It may be productive beyond measure of good, or it may yield only pain and sorrow. Yet few have thought it worth their attention to enter upon and examine it; still fewer have cared to cultivate it, so that it may bring forth the full fruits of health and life.

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\* Sixth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education. By HORACE MANN.  
(Notice continued from page 381 of the last volume.)

There is a common notion, that life is a mystery ; that health is the gift of nature ; that diseases are God's chastenings, and death comes at its own appointed time, and therefore we have nothing to do in the matter ; that study into these things is a vain endeavor to find out the unsearchable ; and all attempts to increase our strength or protract our life will be but an ineffectual struggle against the Almighty. Such, we believe, is not the lot of man here below. Far different is our condition, far wider is our duty in respect to the maintenance of our physical being on earth. We are not to be the mere passive recipients of the means of life, nor careless revellers in the midst of them. Still less are we to scorn and neglect them and bury them in the ground. For all the things of the world are created by God in infinite wisdom, and all its circumstances are arranged in infinite love. Every one of the numberless blessings granted to us has an especial design ; and to the enjoyment of each there is affixed a condition for us to fulfil. Thereupon hangs a duty of knowledge and obedience ; and a responsibility to ourselves and to God for all the consequences of neglect. Hence comes the necessity of our studying the laws of life and of health, the conditions of our present existence, and the means put into our hands for their fulfilment.

All men seem to have a general notion of the means by which life is sustained ; yet few are well acquainted with their minute and daily administration. Every one is aware of the need of food, clothing, and air : but how these shall be prepared and taken, in what manner and in what measure, this is the question, on which men differ, both in their theory and in their practice ; and hence come the very different results of health and strength in various persons.

“The earth was given us by a generous Providence for our habitation. Our organs and their functions, and the necessities of our powers are perfectly fitted to external nature. Between the wants of the animal body and the elements there is a beautiful harmony. For every need of our organs or our life God has created an abundant supply. Some of these things are supplied to us all ready for our use,—as the air for the lungs and respiration, the light for the eye, the water for drink : other things are given to us in the raw material unfit for use. But then we have intellect given us to perceive the powers and worth of these, and their convertibility into such shapes or combinations as our bodies may require.”—p. 90.

Our bread is not prepared nor our meats cooked for our tables, but we have the earth with all its capacities of bringing forth her seeds and fruits, we have hands to cultivate the soil, and minds to learn the way to gather our bread from these. God has appointed no necessity of our being without pointing out the way, and giving us the means of supplying it. Our breath comes directly from his hands. Our clothing, our shelter, and our food come indirectly from him, through the instruments, that he has bestowed upon us. The things God himself has prepared for us are perfect, and no art of ours can improve them ; but, on the other hand, we may interfere, and render them unfit for our wants. We may taint the air we breathe, we may corrupt the water we drink, and thereby impair their power of sustaining life. All that comes to us, through our own agency, requires the most careful observation, first, to learn the structure and wants of our frames, and, second, to know the means of supplying those wants. This is not a matter of indifference. The animal frame, in its original structure, is not elastic as to its wants, nor careless as to its supplies. The conditions of its being are fixed, and we cannot change them, but the measure of that being, its power and its comfort will vary with our success in conforming to those conditions. The quantity of nutriment, which we supply to our bodies, must be precisely suited to the wants of nutrition, and its quality as exactly fitted to the powers of digestion. The same material may, in one form, be very useful, and, in another, very injurious. We waste and die if our food be insufficient ; we bloat and die if it be more than enough ; but the medium between these extremes nourishes and invigorates us. We are powerless if we have no exercise ; we are exhausted if we toil excessively ; but moderation in labor develops our powers. To hold the nice balance between excess and deficiency in these things, to use all the materials and all the means of life exactly for the purposes for which they were designed, to indulge all our passions and appetites, to give play to all our propensities, just so far as will be advantageous to the animal economy, neither wholly denying them, on the one hand, nor living solely for them on the other ; these are duties for our intellect and our conscience to know and to enforce ; and in proportion to our faithfulness in this matter, will be the measure and the enjoyment of our life on earth.

God has put our lives, partially at least, into our own hands. Whether we shall live to the fulness of our years, and give to each day its fulness of strength and pleasure, or whether we shall be miserable invalids, ever moving toward the grave and cut off in the morn, noon, or eve of life ; these depend upon our obedience to those laws which God has stamped upon our frames.

It is a melancholy consideration to compare what we actually are, with what we might be. Few of us are conscious, how far short we come of our real or our possible destiny ; for few are aware, how much strength and comfort we might here enjoy. We hardly seem to understand what health is. Now and then we see a man, in whom physical life is fully developed, his form is erect and his motions free ; there is strength in his frame and roundness in his limbs ; there is a glow on his cheek, a morning freshness in his countenance ; there is energy in his spirit and cheerfulness in his heart ; he is in full possession of all his powers, and ever ready to apply them to any honest purpose. This is the full measure of health, and it must be so continued, for threescore and ten years, to give him the full measure of life. Thus would he have, during his earthly pilgrimage, seventy times three hundred and sixty-five days full of enjoyment, and be able to accomplish twenty-five thousand, five hundred and fifty full days' labor undisturbed by sickness or pain.

This is health : this is life : this we believe to be man's natural destiny on earth. And all our variations from this, at least all our short comings, are the consequences of our failure to fulfil the conditions of our existence here.

It needs no demonstration to show, that not one of us attains this ; that our race, even in its best and most favorable circumstances, does not probably exceed thirty-three per cent. of the fulness and duration of life, which God has given us the means of enjoying. The world's history is a terrible record of the abatement, that is made from our life in its progress, and of the curtailment at its end.

Instead of living to threescore and ten, from our very birth we are surrounded with death ; no age is free ; nursing infancy, hopeful youth, vigorous manhood, all have fallen before the destroyer. For, "man that is born of a woman is of few days and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower and is cut down : he fleeth also as a shadow and continueth not."

Job was a prophet as well as poet, for his words are as true now as they were in his own time. In Boston, from 1811 to 1838, more than thirty per cent. of all, who died, were less than two years old, and forty-seven per cent. had not passed their twentieth year, and less than seven per cent. reached their threescore years and ten. In Concord, Mass. from 1778 to 1843, more than seventeen per cent. died within two years and more than thirty-two per cent. died within twenty years from their birth, and only twenty-two and seven tenths per cent. passed their seventieth year. By the report of the Registrar General, we find that, in England and Wales, during the year 1841, almost twenty-three per cent. were under one year, fifty-two per cent. had not passed their twentieth year, and only fourteen per cent. had overstepped their seventieth year, when they died.\* The average duration of life in Concord, the most favored of these places, was a few days less than thirty-nine years. Abbreviation of life is not confined to the countries or towns here mentioned, nor to the present age. The same sad tale is told in every graveyard on the globe. Wherever man has lived, from Noah till our day, there as well as in Rama has a voice been heard, "lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning. Rachel weeping for her children and would not be comforted, because they were not." Such as escape the havoc of the nursery seem but to be reserved for other destructive influences, and before we have fairly entered upon the threshold of manhood, half of our race, have fallen beneath the destroyer: only a feeble remnant have filled out the full measure of time allotted to man on earth, and these, wearied with the frequent struggle with sickness and worn out with labor, have gone down to the grave as a resting place.

Nor is this all, that we fall short of the full measure of our destiny on earth. Even this short period, averaging, throughout the world, not more than thirty-five years, is diminished at every stage, reduced at every turn, and taxed throughout with innumerable burdens. The whole catalogue of diseases, whose

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\* In England and Wales, in 1841, there were

Births.	Deaths.	Deaths under 1 year.	Proportion of deaths under 1 year to births.	to total deaths.
501,589	350,101	78,328	15 per cent.	22 per cent.

*Third Report of Registrar General, p. 65.*

name is legion, is borne by our race ; and, cut short as our years are by the abbreviation of our term, we yet are obliged to contribute time for sickness and debility.

Deduct the months, during which we are prostrated by disease and under the control of others ; deduct the seasons, when, though we are not diseased, yet are invalids, with constitutions broken or powers wasted, dragging onward a wearied existence, in premature old age ; deduct the periods when our energies are somewhat paralyzed, and our strength so far reduced below its just standard, that we cannot enter upon the full tide of active business, which men in health freely venture upon, or can only engage in inferior, lighter, and less desirable employments than we otherwise would undertake, and therefore accomplish less and enjoy less than we might ; deduct the periods when we are slightly ailing, whether from cold, from headache, or other trifling cause, and our frames are sluggish and our resolutions dormant, when we cannot in the day or in the hour, do its own appointed work ; deduct the times when we are heavy, stupid, and inactive, when our energies are absorbed in digesting improper or excessive food, when we are dull and sleepy out of due season ; lastly, deduct the moments when we are irritable in temper, timid of purpose, or gloomy in spirit, when our moral powers are weakened and disturbed, and our mental faculties oppressed ; — add to these the thirty or thirty-five years which we lose by premature death, and deduct the whole from a complete human life, from twenty-five thousand five hundred and fifty days of health, unimpaired by sickness, unalloyed by pains, and it is woefully manifest, how small a fraction of our natural destiny we obtain out of the means and facilities, which a most generous Providence has placed in and about us.

If then our Creator has given us the material of a healthy and a full life of seventy years, and yet nearly two thirds of this is lost to us, it becomes a serious question for man to ask and to learn, what are the causes of this depreciation and loss. Without pretending, that all these causes can be explained in the present state of human knowledge, we feel justified in saying, that more than half of our physical ills and of our deaths, arise from an ignorance of those laws of our being, which are known to some of mankind, and from a disobedience to those laws, when once revealed to us. A slight examination of some of the most important organs of the animal body, and their wants



and relations to external nature, will show us what are the conditions of health and life, and a comparison of these with our actual history will show wherein we fail.

"The health, vigor, and longevity of the human family are almost entirely dependent upon these things.

1. A sufficient quantity of wholesome and nutritious food well prepared before it is sent into the stomach.

2. The due vitalization of the blood in the lungs.

This vitalization of the blood is effected by our inhaling the necessary amount of pure air, which is impossible without active exercise.

3. Personal cleanliness, by which is meant cleanliness of the whole body." — p. 134.

4. Sufficient exercise of the muscular system.

The first law of our nature is the necessity of nourishing the body. For this purpose, we have the digestive apparatus within, and the fruits of the earth without. By the help of our organs, we convert dead vegetables, seeds, fruits, bread, and meats into our own living flesh. For every part of this process, we have the means sufficient, appropriate, and at our command. We break up the food and mix it with saliva in the mouth. It is reduced to a pulp and mixed with the gastric juice in the stomach. It is separated into the nutritious and the waste in the canal beyond. There, that, which is to support the body is taken up by a thousand mouths, and carried through one tube to the great vein and mingled with the blood near the heart. This is digestion.

The heart is placed in the centre of the chest, and contains two sets of cavities, one for the reception of the old blood as it comes from the whole body, and the new chyle as it comes from the digestive organs; thence this new and old blood is sent to the lungs to be vitalized by the action of the air. The other cavity receives the perfected blood from the lungs, and sends it again through the whole frame.

"The whole blood of the system pours through the heart, and issues forth from it in one great stream, which is afterwards so minutely subdivided as to reach every part of the body."

"The blood vessels lie so closely side by side, that a needle cannot find any unoccupied space or interstice between them."

"The blood carries nutritious particles as its freight, and every point in the whole system is the port where it unloads its

treasures, and in return it receives the waste and used-up particles, which every part of a healthy body is constantly throwing off."—p. 105.

When the blood goes out from the heart, it is of a scarlet color and moves in the arteries, it has been enriched with new supplies from the food, and been perfected in the lungs. It is now the storehouse, whence the wants of the whole system are supplied. Out of this blood, the bones, the muscles, the brain and the hair, the skin, the textures of the eye, and the nails, every organ and every part of the system are formed and renewed.

After having performed this work of nutrition, the blood becomes purple, and is found in the veins returning to the heart ; not only is its life gone, but it is laden with the dead and wasted particles, which have been thrown into it in its progress in every part of the body.

It is a law of life, that it cannot long abide in the same matter. Therefore, every particle of the animal frame dies after having occupied a space and performed an active part, for a short period in the living economy. It is then taken up by a set of vessels appointed to do this work, and thrown into the veins. Another particle, fresh with new life from the arteries takes its place, lives, acts and feels a while, and then gives place to its successor. Thus our bodies are undergoing a constant change. That which constituted our frames yesterday does not constitute them to-day. We are not the same identical beings from hour to hour.

Here we may see the beauty and the harmony of nature's operations, the law of life and the law of chemistry working together for one purpose, for the health of man ; for God established them all. These exhausted particles, which have played their part in the animal body, are principally composed of carbon. They are dead, useless in the living system, a burden, a poison, and must therefore be carried out from it. What human contrivance could carry these out, from their myriads of veins buried in the deepest recesses of our frames? But He, who made our bodies, made also the air. He understood our wants, and provided for them by the powers of the atmosphere. He established the lungs as the laboratory, wherein He brings the blood and the air together.

The whole of this purple blood, thus loaded with car-

bon, after returning to the heart, is then sent into the lungs, and there, in numberless minute cells, it comes in contact with the air, which we receive through the mouth and nostrils.

This air is well known to be composed of about seventy-nine parts of nitrogen, and twenty-one parts of oxygen. Oxygen has a stronger affinity for or attachment to carbon than it has for nitrogen, and therefore, in the lungs it leaves the latter, with which it existed in the state of air, and unites with the carbon of the blood, and, with that, it forms carbonic acid gas, which then mingles with the air, which we expire. Beside this, some of the oxygen of the air unites with the blood and remains in the body.

This then is the process and effect of respiration. The blood is relieved of its deadening burden of carbon, and has gained some oxygen : it is changed from purple to scarlet, and is ready to supply nourishment to the whole system. The air has lost a good portion of its oxygen, is loaded with carbonic acid gas, and so far cannot again relieve the blood of carbon, and therefore cannot serve the purposes of respiration a second time, and is unfit to be breathed again.

The skin is also a coöperator in this work of excretion, the carrying off the waste and dead portions of the body. The insensible perspiration, which in health never ceases, amounts to near two pints a day. These particles, like those, which are thrown off through the lungs, having finished their functions of life, are now a burden and a poison, and cannot be retained in the living body without detriment.

The skin has another office to perform ; it is the protector of the frame from the external elements and from cold. The animal body generates its own heat, and maintains a temperature of 98° ; and amidst a surrounding medium of air a hundred degrees colder, this living covering stands as a faithful sentinel to prevent the escape of our natural and healthy heat.

The muscular system is the sole power, that gives motion to the body or to any of its members. By this, we walk, we breathe, we lift the hand, roll the eye, and articulate language. The muscles are distributed to the trunk and to every limb, and not only move these, but by their motions they give energy to all the other systems of the frame.

Thus we are made up of several systems. Each one performs its own appropriate work, yet all act in harmony. Each does its duty independently, but no one can labor, without the

coöperation of all the rest ; and our life is the result of their combined and harmonious operations. If any one is sluggish, all droop. If any one is overworked, all suffer weariness ; and in either case, life is imperfect.

The strength of each system is latent until developed by exercise ; and it is then increased more and more, up to a certain limit, by continued exertion. The muscular system of the laborer is stronger than that of the counting-house clerk. The arms of the sailor, the legs of the pedestrian, the back of the porter, the lungs of the trumpeter, the brain of the reasoner are more powerful than these organs are in other men not exercised as these are. The careful female, who never has walked a mile, cannot walk that space, not because she is primarily weak, but because she has not developed her locomotive powers. And connected with this deficiency of muscular power and want of exercise, we shall find a feeble digestion, an inactive brain, and an irresolute spirit.

In all these several systems for digestion, respiration and circulation, in the skin and the muscles &c., there is no error, no deficiency nor redundancy. So far as these are needed, they are sufficient for health. What God has done for us is well done. But there are conditions fixed for their active existence, and the means of fulfilling them are put into our hands. We are charged with the duty of administering these means, and applying them to the wants of our organs and bodies. We are the coöperators with our Creator in the maintenance of our lives ; and if our work were as perfect as his, we should enjoy the consequence of perfect health. An examination of the manner, in which we perform our part in the support of life, will show wherein our weakness lies, and whence come our ailments and our early death.

For respiration, the air is prepared all ready for use ; it is compounded and elaborated exactly to suit the powers of the lungs and meet the wants of the blood. It contains precisely that proportion of oxygen and nitrogen, which will best remove the needless carbon from the purple blood, and carry these dead impurities out of the body. More oxygen in the air would carry off the carbon too rapidly and leave us weakened. Less oxygen would not relieve the vital streams of their oppressive load. The mixture of any other gas or material with the air, would impede this nice operation within our lungs, and injure the texture of these delicate organs.

This function then has one simple condition for us ; that is, *to give the lungs pure air*. Let it be renewed and fresh at every inspiration. Seeing, that the atmosphere encircles the whole earth and is forty-five miles in height from its surface, and the restless winds leave no corner unvisited by their unadulterated breezes, it would seem that this is not a hard condition : but one that man would ever obey. And if we dwelt "in houses not made with hands," we could not violate it. Yet we do sin against this law. We box up this boundless air in small rooms, and there we breathe it over and over. And although every time it goes out from our lungs, a large portion of its oxygen, its life-giving property, is lost, and carbonic acid is mingled with it, yet we inhale it again and again. We gather in crowds, at private assemblies, and in public halls, in churches and in theatres. We befoul the air, in a very short time, and yet continue to use it, and vainly imagine that we are doing our part of the work of respiration. We imprison our children in narrow school rooms, and put them there on a short allowance of this costless element ; and that pittance which we allow them becomes so corrupted, that one can hardly enter those little halls of learning in the winter, without feeling oppressed.

"Now the mother violates this rule, when she sinks her babe in the pillows of a cradle or crib : and, by so covering it up as to impede the access of fresh air to its lungs, may with almost literal truth be said to bury it alive. Parents violate this rule when, for the sake of guarding their children against what they call the inclemency of the season, they make their children sleep — or sleep themselves — in a small room, with closed doors and with windows carefully caulked to keep out the cold.

"This law is flagrantly violated, when children are kept indoor for days together, although the weather be as cold as our latitude will permit, instead of being sent out daily and several times a day, to take such vigorous exercise as will keep them warm in the open air." — p. 137.

Men violate this law of God, when they live among and breathe the dust of certain shops and highways, the fumes of foundries, and the gases of breweries. They selfishly violate this law of life, when they smoke tobacco in parlors, in public rooms, in the busy streets, where they not only corrupt their

own air with this smoke, but rob others of that purity of the atmosphere, which has been made not merely the right but the necessity of all, who would enjoy the fulness of life. In these ways they weaken or corrupt the air, and thereby take from it some of its power to purify the blood, and give life and energy to the body, or they load it with offensive matters, that will irritate the delicate texture of the lungs, derange their operations, and often create disease. .

Water is the only drink, which nature has prepared at our hands, and this is all sufficient for our thirst. Yet we have made many compounds of evil, by mingling other things with it. Some are narcotic and lie like burdens, impeding the powers of life; others are stimulant, and excite them above their natural actions. Some of them allay no thirst, but rather increase it; others interfere with the function of digestion.

For our respiration and our drink our duty is merely negative; God only requires of us not to interfere with his work, but to partake freely of that, which he has liberally provided for us. But in regard to our food we have a more positive duty. We have our digestive organs and their powers of converting nutriment into flesh. We have the earth and its capacity for producing that nutriment. We have our own hands to till the ground and mould its productions into such shapes as will meet our animal wants. So far God has done the work for us; what remains he has charged upon us to do, and given us the means, and the motive to do it right. It behooves us then first to study our organs, their powers, and their wants; next to learn what are the best means of supplying their wants; and lastly to administer faithfully the supplies, in just that quantity, which the nourishment of the system requires. If our administration of the material and the powers put into our hands should correspond to the wisdom of the whole preparation, then all our eating would nourish and invigorate us. Our food and our digestion would give us nothing but strength, comfort, and pleasure. Neither pain, oppression, nor disease would ever flow from them. This presupposes, that we learn the law, and are obedient to it. For ignorance and disobedience are followed by the sure consequences of disorder, weakness, and perhaps of death. It is left for us, each to determine which he will choose; to live as God has appointed and enjoy health and strength, or to live

without the law, as appetite and caprice may dictate, and suffer pain and disease.

This law of adapting our food to the wants of nutrition and the powers of digestion is daily violated. Some task their digestive organs to weariness and disorder. They are overloaded and heavy. Their nervous energies are all absorbed in the single process of converting food into flesh, and they have therefore but little activity of mind or energy of body. The slaves of appetite, they openly live to eat; and practically eat to die. These are gourmands, whose sensual lives seem to strike us with horror. But there are thousands among us, who violate the same law, and are suffering similar consequences. Their sin and their punishment differ from those of the sensualist only in degree but not in kind. Those hardy men, who know not what they eat and care not what is offered them — and yet are occasionally oppressed — those kind men, who sacrifice their comfortable digestion rather than give their provider pain, by requesting their food to be adapted to their powers — those, who partake of extraordinary dinners and night suppers — all these violate this law of life. The stoic, who denies his appetite every gratification, and the epicure, whose palate is his ruling principle, both sin against the same command, though from opposite motives. Whenever we are induced to eat that which is not wanted to nourish the body, or which is not perfectly within the power of the stomach to digest, so far as this gives trouble or is ill suited to the wants of the system, we violate the law. In every case, the punishment of pain, disease, or languor is the consequence of the error, and is proportioned to its amount.

The law of muscular exercise is given to us in general terms, and it is left to our discernment to know the manner and the quantity. Yet, in an appropriate degree, it is absolutely necessary. It is manifest from too many examples, that, without it, there can be no fulness of life, and that the excess of it is weariness and exhaustion and partial death. It is also certain, that this exercise should be regular and unfailing. If we wish to gain for ourselves the fullest advantage from this, we must not concentrate the physical labor of many days in one, and have long periods of inactivity after it. For those, who are engaged in sedentary employments, each day should have its own exercise abroad: and for the laborious, each day should

have no more than its own. It is the business of the first to determine, how much he needs, of the second to ascertain how much he can bear, and of both to keep within the proper medium.

Notwithstanding this law is published and imperative, we see transgressions against it, of every sort and degree. We see men and women confining themselves to their houses and their rooms for days, or even weeks together, thinking their nutrition will go on of itself without their aid, and endeavoring to carry on their mental operations, with their usual vigor. The ambitious student hopes to gain time for his books, by shortening the hours of his walks in open air, or perhaps by cutting them off altogether. The book-keeper attempts to stand at his desk, and the tailor and the shoemaker to work at his bench all the hours of the day, which are not absolutely required for eating and sleeping. Some of these transgress more, some transgress less against the law; but all are offenders, and all suffer the sure retribution commensurate with their sin.

The over anxious mother guards her daughters with injudicious care. In her notions of female education, fatigue is a stumbling-block, and the weather a bugbear. Her girls are restrained from exercise, and grow up inactive and feeble. The power of their limbs is never called forth, and the strength of their whole frames is not developed. The energies of the digestive and circulatory and nervous systems, correspond to those of the muscular. All that portion of life, which consists in action, courage, and command of their physical and moral powers, has never been born. Their listless days drag heavily onward; they have a quantity of existence less than their latent powers might have given them, if they had been called into exercise. Perhaps they call this life, but it is comparatively feeble and attenuated, and it is so much the more liable to be shortened as the vital principle within them is lower.

Others violate this law in the opposite extreme of over exertion, considering their muscular system as having an indefinite power of endurance; they make long days and short nights, and grudge the hours required for eating and rest. For a time, they accomplish more physical labor than their fellows, and take satisfaction in their superior industry, thinking that this extraordinary exertion may be maintained until natural



old age shall come upon them. But all their excessive toil is only borrowing life and power from days to come, which they must surely repay, and this, with usurious interest. Those days find them exhausted and weak; and if they persevere in their undue exertions, premature old age comes upon them. Then in the midst of their years, they are decrepit and useless, because they have squandered their strength, and are now suffering the consequences of their improvidence.

The same is true in regard to any unwise expenditure of physical or intellectual power, for however short periods. Any borrowing of the future is bad economy; one day or one week of extraordinary action must be followed by more than a day or a week of extraordinary inactivity; the loss is ever greater than the gain; and man accomplishes less by irregular labor, than by that systematic industry, which expends on each day its own strength and no more, without ever encroaching upon the morrow.

The day is the time for labor and the night is the time for rest. This is the universal law of nature. It is the command to man. Yet we have, partially at least, assumed to be wiser than He, who created us and made also the day and the night. We often reverse his law; and turn night into day, and day into night. We sleep, while the sun is shining with life-giving beams, and labor under the deathful influences of darkness. Thus we are exhausted more and refreshed less. Life and power are not maintained to their highest degree, and we are more susceptible of disease and pain.

It is a cruel and a selfish as well as most unwise hope, to gain by adding night work to day toil, in ourselves or in those who labor for us. Sooner or later, this will waste the energies of the body, and impoverish the spirit, and we must then suspend our exertions or sink beneath the vain endeavor to do more than God has given us power to do.

Some seem to suppose, that although they would not transgress so far as to labor in the night, yet they may work six days in the week and devote one night to pleasure, to charity, or to the acquisition of knowledge, and suffer no depreciation of life. But the law is inexorable, it demands perfect and implicit obedience; and he who deprives himself of the natural rest, from whatever cause, must suffer the loss of some of his natural vigor, and lay a tax, greater or less in proportion to the delinquency, upon his permanent constitution.

The skin stands in need of our aid in the performance of its double duty. It is not a mere passive membrane through which the perspiration and other excretions pass out from the body; nor is it a dead covering like a garment to keep the cold elements from us. But, in each of these relations it performs an active and a living part; and does its office best, when its vital principle is the strongest. The waste, that is thrown off from the body by this covering is sometimes vapour, sometimes fluid, and there is also a waxy secretion from the surface. These keep the skin moist, so that dust gathers and mingles with them, and together they choke the pores and the mouths of the glands and interrupt their functions, and hence the skin becomes sluggish and performs its part imperfectly in the animal economy, and the whole frame is heavy and life is impaired.

We have then a duty in this matter. Friction and washing would relieve the surface of this accumulated load, and let it go on rejoicing in its work. This is our law, but so plainly necessary and so surely comfortable an act of obedience is not generally rendered. We do this indeed for the hands and the face, but these we wash to be seen of men, while the residue of skin is full of all uncleanness. Very few purify themselves throughout with a daily bath. Some indulge themselves with this as an occasional luxury. But the great majority of mankind feel no responsibility for the health of this organ, and from summer to summer, they carry upon themselves the corrupting waste that has ceased to live; and the gathered filth of months or years remains upon the skin, a deadening clog upon the vital operations.

The direct consequences of this neglect of duty, appear in many of the cutaneous eruptions, the leprous spots upon the filthy; and in such a reduction of the vital properties of the surface that it is less able to protect the body from the external cold. Then the waste is not freely carried off, the blood circulates less freely in the skin, and is therefore thrown upon the inner organs, and their functions are thereby interrupted.

Our natural defence against the elements is greater or less in proportion to the vital energy of the skin. This power is a matter of development and growth not of entire and original creation. Like the strength of the muscles, it increases by use and diminishes by neglect. Hence we find the skin of the face, which is never covered, needs no protection, because its powers have been taxed and brought forth; while the skin of

the breast can scarcely endure a temperature below summer heat without covering. So also the timid, who confine themselves to hot rooms, are chilled when they go into the open air of winter; while stagemen, pilots, and wagoners endure the severest weather with impunity and comfort. The cutaneous energies are reduced down to the level of the demands that are made upon them, however low; and nearly raised up to them, however high. If, therefore, we accustom ourselves to abundant clothing, we soon find we need it; and if we wear comparatively light garments, the skin will make vigorous exertions to do that which we do not. Two men may be walking, side by side, in winter; one has his daily cold bath, and wears only his close dress; the other abhors water, but puts on extra garments. Both are equally warm; the first by his vital energies; the second by his artificial covering.

Not only is present comfort better maintained by the proper administration of the skin, but we have therein a much sorer safeguard against the effects of atmospheric changes. The cherished health and proper use of this organ, give elasticity to its quick discerning energies. These spring forward to defend the flesh against any sudden assault from without. Colds, rheumatism, and coughs are not the frequent attendants upon those who live ever in open air and meet all its variations; but they follow the over cautious, whose timidity has only weakened their natural powers of resisting the causes of derangement.

These are some of the most important organs of our frame, and these some of the essential conditions of their existence. No one of them is the seat of life to the exclusion of the rest; but any one may be the seat of death and include all the others in its downfall.

God has created this beautiful frame, with its hundreds of muscles and bones, its thousands of blood vessels and nerves, its complicated digestive apparatus, its nicely adapted lungs, its active skin, — all these he has formed into systems and organs, each having a separate duty to perform for the good of the whole; each doing its own peculiar work; and yet not working without the coöperation of all the rest, and the whole under the direction of the brain and nervous system. All these, varied and harmonious, constitute the machinery of our life. And this God has put into our hands to direct, to supply its wants, to suit the elements of nutrition and excretion, food and air, bathing and exercise, precisely to the necessities and condition

of each organ ; and, out of the whole, to produce the greatest amount of health. This is our responsibility. This is the "harp of thousand strings" which we are to play upon, and to bring forth the music of energy and cheerfulness. We are to play, each one of us, upon his own harp. Whether we are deeply skilled in the instrument and its uses, or are totally ignorant of both, still we must be the players ; and the music, harmonious or discordant, must be such as we individually are able and willing to produce. Our vital machine has each its own director, and admits of no substitute ; and, according to the skill and the faithfulness of this direction, will be the amount of vitality given us. It is in vain to say, we are not competent to sustain this responsibility, — for we must sustain it or we must fall. No one can assume it for us ; no one can bear the consequence in our stead. As we eat, breathe, and move, so shall we alone live or die.

Not merely, in general terms, must we obey the laws of life, in order to prevent evil coming upon us ; but in each and every particular must we be faithful. Every organ and function must be rightly administered, or health and comfort will not come to us ; but that specific pain, which follows every special act of disobedience, will inevitably come. Every righteousness brings its own reward ; and every sin brings its own punishment. The law is inexorable ; it acknowledges no compromise ; it is not satisfied with anything short of entire submission. It will receive no virtue, however great, as a compensation for any sin, however small. No matter how faithful one may be in the government of his appetites, in ventilation, in the care of his skin, and clothing, — if he neglect exercise, he certainly fails of that vigor, which it imparts, and of the power, which it contributes to the general system. The organs have all a mutual sympathy and a common interest. As, in the clock, the pendulum, the weights, and the hands are useless without the wheels, and the correct movement of any one presupposes the perfect condition of all the rest, — so in the animal body, the lungs, the brain, the stomach are powerless, if each and every other organ is not in healthy condition. A scholar bends his whole energies to the exercise of the brain. So doing he neglects the muscular system, and forgets to eat, or eats irregularly. Day and night he confines himself to his books, and hopes thereby to increase his intellectual powers. But these cannot grow at the expense of his physical powers ;

and instead of becoming strong in one function, he becomes weak in all, by thus violating the law of harmony among his members. Hence we have dyspeptics in college, consumption among ministers, and the brightest and the most promising are withered in their youth and cut off in their prime.

The laborer, who attempts to concentrate his whole nervous energies in the muscular system, the gourmand, who tries to make himself all stomach, and the thinker, who strives to be all intellect, — all these transgress the same law, and all meet with the same retribution for their unfaithfulness to their trust. The coachman, who attends only to the wheels of his vehicle, and disregards the springs, the straps, and the braces; the spinner, who watches only his spindles, and neglects the wheels and the bands, the gearing and the motive power, are not more unwise than these, nor more unsuccessful in their operations.

The laws of life are as fixed and certain as the laws of matter. In the motions of the living body cause and consequence are as inseparably connected as they are in brute substances. The principles of gravitation and of chemical affinities are not more clearly ascertained and demonstrated than those of respiration and nutrition. In all our operations, we acknowledge the former, and conform our plans and our practice to them. We build our houses on secure foundations, lest their weight overturn them; we dig our canals on horizontal planes, because water will not run up hill, and we mix nitric acid with potash to make nitre, because no other mixture will produce this salt. But it is equally certain, that nothing but the air compounded and pure, precisely as God has made it for us, will decarbonize the blood and give vigor and life to our bodies, and that nothing but proper and digestible food can be converted into living flesh and blood. In both cases a perfect cause must produce a perfect effect, and an imperfect cause must be followed by an imperfect effect. The man, who builds his dwelling of old and decayed materials, or makes his garments of rotten cloth, deliberately calculates to have them weak and insecure against the exposures of the elements and of wear, for in their very creation, he has provided the principles of their weakness and destruction. So he, who builds the dwelling of his spirit of poor and ill adapted material, of improper food and corrupted air, as plainly prepares the seeds of his own

feebleness and death. The manufacturer, who throws unwashed wool mixed with dirt and sticks into his machines, seems resolved to break and injure his cards, and to have cloth of feeble and unsightly texture; but not more resolved than we are to have disordered stomachs and imperfect bodies, when we feed ourselves with all sorts of crudities, absurd mixtures, and perverse cookeries.

If the dyer would not take the trouble to select the proper dye stuffs, or mixed these with any other material, and yet hoped to produce his nice shades, or if he continued to dip his silk in dyes, that had been used and exhausted, and expected to produce strong colors, we should call him a simpleton. What then shall we say of him, who mixes tobacco smoke or any other gas with his air, or breathes over and over again the atmosphere of a close room, and yet expects this befouled or weakened air to purify the blood!

In all these cases, in the living actions and dead combinations, the effect corresponds exactly to the cause. If we prepare right means in the arts, we have the desired results. If we use the right means in our bodies, we have health and strength, otherwise, we suffer and lose both health and strength.

There are no chances in this matter. It is true, we are told continually of the chances of sickness and the uncertainty of life. But God has left these to no sport of fortune. The ignorant chemist, who endeavors to make his salts out of all sorts of incompatible and corrupted elements, and sometimes finds the desired compound, but oftener finds very different ones, may as well talk of the chances of chemistry, as we of the chances of health, when we neither examine the laws of our organization nor regard them. A sailor, who knows neither the position of the stars nor the motions of the sun and moon, may as well complain of the uncertainty of astronomy, as man of the uncertainty of life.

Neither is there truly any premature death. No one dies before his vital powers are exhausted, or until some organ, which is needed in the vital process, fails. As the spendthrift, whose annual income might otherwise support him through life, mismanages his property, squanders his money, and thus wears upon his estate until the last mite is gone, and he is bankrupt, so men mismanage their strength, abuse their powers, waste their vital energies, until too little is left to carry on the process

of life. Then death comes and finds them all prepared, ready for him. His coming is not then premature. But in the eye of God, who gave us the means of a life of threescore and ten, this death is premature.

The laws of God are perfect and all consistent one with another. The physical laws recognise no interchange with the moral law. Each one requires absolute obedience. No matter how faithful we may be to the latter, or how holy the work in which we are engaged, if therein we violate one law of physical life, we inevitably suffer the punishment. The righteous judge upon the bench, on whose wisdom depend life and liberty, sinks beneath his overstrained mental exertion or the foul air of his court room. The sister of charity, confined with others' sicknesses, and the mother, long watching over her dying babe, without sleep, fresh air, or exercise, both fall victims to their neglect of the physical law. The minister, whose spirit is love, and life, beneficence, but who concentrates in Saturday and Sunday the mental labor of a week, and rouses himself then into an unnatural excitement for the Sabbath, whose exercise is irregular, now violent and then with long intervals between, is punished with a broken constitution as well as others. A multitude, crowded into a church to hear the gospel preached, suffer as surely from the corrupted and carbonized air, as a crowd at the theatre, listening to profaneness or looking upon sin. For "when the righteous turns from his righteousness and committeth iniquity, he shall even die thereby."

This unrelenting law neither regards motive nor pardons ignorance. "Sin is a transgression of the law." "And the consequences of a transgression of the physical laws are equally visited upon the body of the offender, whether he were acquainted with the laws or not," or whether he transgressed by his own free will or by force of another. The helpless infant, whom the indiscreet mother overfeeds, suffers pain and sickness as surely as the glutton, who devours voraciously. In the foundering of the slave-ship at sea, the stolen victims will be drowned as soon as the ruthless kidnapper. When carbonic acid enters the lungs, it extinguishes life with equal certainty and rapidity, whether the heart of the sufferer be good or evil. On this subject, therefore, the first rule, that "sin is a transgression of the law," is universal; and equally universal is the last, that "the way of transgressors is hard."

## 22 *Violation of the Law brings certain Retribution.* [Sept.

Here we may be told, that many are acting in opposition to these laws, and yet they do not suffer. One works night and day, and is not broken down; another never exercises at all, or eats all sorts of strange compounds, but has no dyspepsy; a third never bathes, and has no eruption; so also the voluptuary pursues his pleasures, the selfish prosecutes his worldly ends, and the negligent disregard their physical wants; and "because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil." But let not these sinners flatter themselves, that they shall finally escape. For surely the judgment cometh sooner or later, as early as the sin exhausts the power of endurance. It comes immediately in the diminishing of the vital energies, taking away some of the power and enjoyment of life, and thereby laying the system open to the attack of disease. It comes often in shape of tangible disorder. The slightest error must produce a corresponding impairment or attenuation of life, though we may not regard it. But if we persist, we accumulate perceptible retribution, for "it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong his days, which are as a shadow."

We see these ways innumerable, in which our vitality is taxed; exposures, irregularities, hardships, indulgences, and neglect, all these either create active disease, or lessen the power of resistance to it, and therefore our life is weakened and our days are shortened.

The Benevolent Creator has given to all his creatures, the humblest and the highest, the means and opportunity of fulfilling the conditions of their existence. The vegetable has a fixed position, and its food is sent to it from the elements. It takes and digests such as is suited to its necessities, and fulfils its destiny. The lower animals have limited and unerring instincts, which select their food and govern their habits. Disease seldom comes upon them, and they fulfil their destiny. Man has neither fixed position to confine him, nor instincts to direct his life; but he is endowed with intellect to discern the nature of his organs and their wants, and his relations to the external world, and he alone fails to fulfil his destiny. The laws of his life are fixed, he cannot bend them to meet his will. But the circumstances and the nutriment of his life are variable, and these are put under his control. For the due administration of these circumstances, and the proper application of the nutriment, the intellect and the conscience must be



in incessant action, for we have no other guide. Not a particle of food nor a drop of water should be taken, not a garment put on nor a limb moved without consideration. All these things may be for good or for evil, according to the correctness of the judgment, which shall determine them. Every one of us must judge for himself in all these matters: and upon our faithfulness in this use of our faculties will depend the measure of health and strength which we shall enjoy.

These are not usually taught as duties. By many they are considered as the mere tithes of mint and cummin, while weightier matters constitute the sum of the law. Some affect to despise the body and call it earthy, and therefore unworthy their attention. They think, they have higher work to do and nobler ends to attain than caring for food, raiment, and health. But He, who made the Heavens and offered man his second being there, made also the earth and appointed man's first being here; and if He could descend from the high Heavens to arrange our beautiful structures and their supporting elements, and give us the stewardship over them, how much more should we gladly fulfil all the conditions he has ordained for our good, and believe with St. Paul, that whether we eat or drink, or whatever we do, we must do all for the glory of God.

God having generously given us our physical constitutions and all things needful for their full enjoyment, and put us in charge over them, has made us free agents in this care of ourselves. We can choose the right or the wrong. We can be active, laborious, or sluggish. We can act from the higher or the lower motive. But to us will accrue all the consequences of our conduct. All the pleasure and the power, that grow out of discretion and faithfulness, will be ours; and all the pain, debility, and the early death, that follow ignorance and indiscretion, will be ours also. This is the law, established by the Creator, and promulgated for more than six thousand years in the human frame; and never, except in the days of miracles, which are not now, has it been suspended, relaxed, or changed. Its testimonies have been shown forth in every mistake of the means or purpose of existence, in every abuse of the blessings of earth, in the derangements that follow undue exercise of our faculties, in the weakness that succeeds neglect, in the shortened days of man. These proclaim the unyielding nature of the law of life, and the sure judgment that follows its violation.

From the beginning, we have been engaged in the vain struggle to bend the law to our caprices, our indiscretions, and our selfishness; but have always been compelled to bow before the law, and oftentimes are crushed beneath it. The river of life flows along the valley. Loveliness and quiet reign along its banks, and there we may drink, and live out the natural term of life. But we place our dwellings on the hill-top, imagining the river will flow up to us, and there we perish in the morning or the noon of our days, for the river will not alter its course to meet our wishes. The Creator has made the performance of every duty to be accompanied by pleasure. There comes a joy with everything we do according to his bidding. But we have mistaken the means for the end; we have regarded the accompaniment rather than the duty. We have forgotten the great purposes of our present being. We have eaten for appetite rather than for nutrition. We toil for riches, rather than for support. We involve ourselves in corroding cares and anxieties about things, which are not for us to do or obtain. We expose our bodies to undue heats and colds, and destructive changes. We have wrong notions of self-sacrifice. We give up that, which is not our own, but only entrusted to us for especial purposes; and undertake burdens, which God has not given us strength to bear. We admit the caprices of fashion to influence our clothing, and often sacrifice comfort and health to beauty. The texture and the form of our garments are selected to suit other men's eyes, rather than the law of our necessities. And although these are permanent and universal, we see strange contrarieties in different persons and years. At one time, fashion demands that the neck be encased in scarfs and shawls and heated to constant perspiration; in another age, the same fickle governess condemns us to expose the neck to the wintry cold. One sex walks abroad, shod in the stoutest water-proof leather; while the other moves in silken hose and satin slippers, and both imagine they obey the same law of life.

Man has sought out many inventions. He has made many improvements in the arts and conveniences of life. But these have had, for their main object, comfort, economy, and facility of accomplishing business. Health has been a secondary purpose; oftentimes entirely forgotten, sometimes injured by them. Our cooking stoves save fuel and labor; but they make heavier bread and less digestible meats, and fill our houses with noisome vapors. Our air-tight stoves give a more comfortable tempera-

ture, with less cost of wood, but they prevent that ventilation which the lungs absolutely require. Our chairs are more elegant than those of our fathers; but the chairmaker has not yet thought to consult the anatomy of the human frame and provide for its best support and least distortion.

Our social refinements may have increased our mental pleasures; but, in many ways, they have diminished our physical enjoyments. With the advancement of civilization have come the various grades of what is miscalled innocent dissipation, in which some vitality is exhausted. In this pursuit of pleasure, it is mournful to see how disproportioned is the satisfaction, that is found in the disobedience, to the pain and loss which must be suffered. This partial reversing of day and night; the indulgence of appetites out of due season; the unusual glow of excitement, are all a tax upon life. Our social gatherings are mostly in the night. The hospitable entertainer desires to give his guests the highest physical and intellectual exhilaration. He provides the nicest cakes for their palate; but feeds their lungs with the foulest atmosphere. Carefully numbering his company, he enlarges his table, so that there may be no lack of eatables, which they do not want; but he neither enlarges his rooms nor increases the quantity of air, which they must have. What indigestible provision would be sufficient to feed his family with dyspepsy, is multiplied tenfold to fill that increase of mouths; but what air is no more than sufficient to supply his family with health, is now made to supply a multitude; and our host, mistaking the ways of benevolence, serves out death without measure, while he deals out life with the most niggardly economy. But God, who knoweth our frame, charges man with all his folly, and demands the penalty for each and every disobedience of the law of life.

Seeing, then, the law is inflexible, and we must govern ourselves by it, and that our short comings of life are chargeable not to any caprice or defect in the law, but to our failure to fulfil its conditions, it would seem our first duty to learn its statutes. Herein is the beginning of our error. We have not studied the law. Physiology has neither been taught in our schools, nor made a subject of examination at home. We assume to direct these complicated machines of our bodies, and yet we do not examine their structure or their powers. We have not been taught to watch our health as we do other mat-

ters. We educate ourselves to manage our beasts and our dead machinery, from which we derive profit or pleasure. For every lower responsibility we deem a fitting education necessary. The engineer learns the structure of his engine, and the nature of the elements with which it is to operate. He ascertains the force of steam, and the strength of his boilers and his pistons, and determines the quantum of power which these with safety can bring to bear upon his intended work. With this preparatory knowledge, he assumes his charge, but watches it anxiously afterward. He carefully selects his fuel and his water, so that they may generate the greatest force with the least wear and tear of his instrument. He applies this to no impossible purpose, and permits no unnecessary friction. Hence his engine lasts until it is worn out by proper use; and all accidents he charges to his own ignorance or folly.

But he takes no pains to learn the structure of his own body, nor the effects, of one or another method of nourishing it, upon its power and durability. He feeds it with all sorts of crudities, and leaves it, to the accident of another's will, to be nourished right or wrong. Failing sometimes of proper management, his body dies. But his engine, which he directed with all his wisdom, survives him, and passes into the hands of another.

The hostler understands the utility of bathing and friction for the skin of his horses, but for himself and for his children this duty is seldom performed.\*

The education of our children is intended to prepare them for the duties of the world. It fits them for what they may and probably will do; but not for what they *must* do. God has made it every one's duty to live, and to direct the machinery of his own life; but he has not made it necessary for every one to be a scholar, a calculator, or traveller, — still less to paint, to draw, or watch the motions of the stars. Therefore, as early as it can be well understood, physiology should be taught in our schools, and it should take precedence of all the higher branches and accomplishments.

In after life we have facilities offered for understanding every

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\* We visited, a few days since, some public works, where we found that one hundred and thirty-two laborers slept in one room about sixty feet by twenty; and among these we had evidence that bathing was a rare occurrence. We saw also the cattle. They were lodged in ample stables, and their sleek hides showed that they did not suffer the privation in that organ which the human laborers endured.

interest but this which each one has in his own vitality. We have treatises in abundance upon every science and every art ; and those, who engage in these, think it necessary to furnish themselves with such works. The dyer has his work on colors ; the engineer his book on railroads ; the farmer buys his volumes upon agriculture, upon cattle raising,\* on swine breeding, and even on poultry ; the housewife has her books on cookery. These indeed flood the land, but they relate to wholly subordinate matters ; — what will best nourish the family, and give them the greatest vigor and comfort, the highest moral and spiritual energy, is not taught in any book which our housewives usually possess. Works on physiology and health, and treatises on the management of infancy, are rarely met with, even in the houses and nurseries of those who study so faithfully the best methods of raising their fowls and their quadrupeds ; or who have sought, throughout the world, for the best means and methods of pampering the appetite.

There is not only a general want of knowledge of the laws of life, but, among many, a contemptuous disregard of them. Few feel a responsibility for every action of their lives. Some openly declare, "that life is not worth all this trouble, and they may as well die at once as to have this perpetual fear of death." With them caution is timidity, and timidity meanness, and rashness courage ; and they rush heedlessly through the circumstances of the world. They stumble and fall over the obstacles which they might have avoided, if they had taken as good care of themselves as they do of their horses, their carriages, and their watches.

It is also a common notion that diseases are the direct afflictions of Providence, which no human sagacity can foresee and no human means avoid.

" Diseases are thy servants Lord,  
They come at thy command,"

is said by the pious poet, and echoed from a thousand pulpits. Most men have believed the doctrine, and therefore have not

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\* We have made diligent inquiry among those engaged in cattle raising, and find that, with careful farmers, hardly one calf dies out of ten ; and one lamb out of eight dies. Whereas, among the children of these very men, who prepare themselves so faithfully to rear their cattle and sheep, one out of every four dies in its mother's arms.

felt themselves called upon to do anything to prevent them ; but they make it a part of their religious duty to submit to these dispensations when they come. Diseases are indeed the servants of God, but the poet has not told for what purpose they serve him ; nor do the people seem to understand their object. They come not on account of our general sins, — our Sabbath-breaking, our pride, our irreligion, — but on account of our special violations of those laws of God established for our physical wellbeing. They are not sent to the infidel and the atheist, but to those idolaters “whose God is their belly,” — who sacrifice their sleep to mammon and to their lusts. They are not sent to wean us from this world, but because we have already weaned ourselves so far from the milk of life. Those, who tell us that diseases are visitations for general sins, do not understand their message. From the least neglect of any law comes the loss of that comfort and strength, which follows a strict fulfilment of our duty. Debility, pain, disease ensue. The evil is slight at first, proportioned to the extent of our error, to warn us of danger. If we disregard the warning, it speaks again and louder. If we persevere, we are prostrated by sickness. If then we have not reduced the vital energies below the power of reaction, we may recover. But if we have disobeyed the law and been deaf to the repeated warnings, we sink beneath the weight of the judgment ; our probation is ended ; and we pass to the Great Judge to give an account of our stewardship here.

From the belief, that diseases are the especial interpositions of Providence, men are led into a second and a corresponding error, that another especial interference is needed to heal them ; and therefore, if never before, they now acknowledge the hand of God and implore his mercy to restore them. They do not pray for greater wisdom to know, and more faithfulness to obey his laws thereafter ; but they request, that those laws may now be suspended for their particular benefit. But God's ways are not as man's ways. The ebb and flow of life, and the ebb and flow of the tide, are equally established in his eternal counsels, and neither of them waits nor changes purposes for man ; for till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law that governs them. If we breathe air over and over, weakened by repeated respiration or corrupted with other gases and smoke, just so much strength is given as its

reduced power can impart and no more. This is debility. If we feed ourselves with innutritious and ill-prepared food, we shall have as much regularity in our organs as these can give and no more. This is derangement. If we overwork our frames, we shall waste our powers and be exhausted. If, then, we pray that God will give to a corrupt and weakened air the effect of the pure and the invigorating, and to unsuitable food the effect of the suitable, or that our strength may hold out beyond its measure, — if, in any case, we pray that the wrong and the inadequate may be followed by those consequences which God has appointed to follow only the right and the sufficient; or if, when those consequences shall have come upon us, we ask that they may be removed, and others, the greater and more desirable, be substituted in their stead, — we are asking for as certain and as hopeless reversions of the eternal laws as would the chemist, who should pray that weak and impure acids may make as perfect salts as the strong and the pure; or as the mariner, who should pray that the water might not leak through the crevices between the planks of his vessel, which he had selected of improper materials and imperfectly joined together; or as the merchant, who should pray that God would not permit his bark, which he has overloaded, to sink.

It is also made a part of our religious instruction, that for every man there is a fixed bound of life, and therefore no one dies before his time. Mourners are consoled with the reflection, that nothing could have arrested the hand of death, for he was the messenger of God. This is indeed a great and melancholy truth. Death is the messenger of Heaven. But death is appointed as the natural effect of disease, and we have already seen how disease comes. We do not, however, receive it, as a universal truth, that no one dies before his time. The suicide, who suddenly extinguishes his life with a pistol, is admitted to be an exception. He, who voluntarily plunges into the midst of deadly contagions, will be excepted also, because he has shortened his days by his own hand. So every one, who, by the misuse or neglect of his faculties, by excessive labors on his farm, among his merchandise, or in pursuit of others' good, exhausts his powers of life, shortens his days by his own hand, though not by his own volition, and dies before his time.

The suicide, who eats poison and dies, strikes us with a just horror, for we feel it a heinous sin to spurn God's blessing of

life. We are also shocked at the sight of one, who voluntarily cuts off a limb or puts out an eye, because he thus impairs his life, and has inflicted upon himself partial death. But all impairment of life is partial death. And he, who is sick, feeble, or wanting in the command of his faculties, is so far dead; and if this be produced by his disobedience, he has committed partial suicide.

We may now be told, that it is useless to strive with God; that we cannot resist his will, and prevent disease or ward off death. But we are not striving against God, in the maintenance of health, and prolongation of life. In doing this, we are co-workers with Him. He invites us at all times to drink from the fountain of life, and enjoy its cheering invigoration. His loving kindness spreads everywhere the elements of health. It is by refusing or neglecting to appropriate them to our use, as he has appointed, that we strive against his will.

We may be asked, if we are so presumptuous as to suppose, that we can add one cubit to our stature, or one day to the period of our existence? We have before said, that though the laws of life are fixed, yet the circumstances of life are variable. These are left very much to our control. We have availed ourselves of this privilege in the better development of life in the vegetable creation, and even in the lower animals. Our delicious fruits, our nutritious roots, and our gorgeous flowers, in unfavorable circumstances, were very different from what we now find them. By our diligent study of their conditions of life, and our faithful application of the means of protection and support, we have transformed the acrid and disagreeable *apium graveolens* into the delicious celery: we have improved the bitter crab and sloe into the luscious and almost infinitely varied apple and pear. By the same attention to the law of growth and development, we have improved our cattle and our swine. Applying the same attention to the law of human life, we see no reason to suppose, that our bodies might not all be preserved in health and maintained in unremitting vigor until old age, as well as those of the brutes.

We do not pretend, that the whole of this law is yet ascertained, or that we could, by any faithfulness to all that is now known, avoid every physical evil. Far be it from us to be thus presumptuous.

"Of course," says Mr. Mann, "I do not mean, that all diseases could be abolished at once, even by the universal diffusion



of a knowledge of their causes : or that the era foretold by the prophet would be ushered in, when 'the child shall die a hundred years old,' and when there shall be no 'old man that hath not fulfilled his days.' The violation of those beautiful and benign laws, which the Creator has inwrought into our system, has been too heinous, and too long persevered in by the race, to be expiated or atoned for in a single age. Disease and debility transmitted through a long line of ancestors have acquired a momentum, by the length of the descent, which cannot at once be overcome."— p. 71.

We have hereditary diseases— the seeds of consumption, scrofula, insanity, and imperfect constitutions, which we have received from our parents. The effects of disobedience are not confined exclusively to the offender, for God is now "visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children unto the third and to the fourth generation." But we believe, that if we would give the whole power of our intellect to learn the conditions of our existence, and our moral powers to fulfil them as correctly and as faithfully as we study the nature and watch the interests of our cattle, or our machinery, we should in a single generation be saved from many diseases, and very materially prolong life.

E. J.

## THE MINISTRY OF EVIL:

BY THE LATE MARTIN L. HURLBUT: WITH A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.

It appears to me, that the great practical distinction of Christian philosophy, the distinctive aid it has furnished to human virtue, and peace of mind, as well as the new light it has poured on the human intellect, is to be found in the views, the peculiar views, it has given of the nature and uses of evil and suffering. The origin of these, their introduction into the system of things, their place, purport, and relations, have darkened the spirits and perplexed the reasonings of thoughtful men in all countries, and at all times. On this topic Metaphysicians have expended all their ingenuity and wearied even themselves in investigations boundless, endless, and without profit. It has been the favorite theme of the scoffer, the fruitful source of recklessness and crime; and it has furnished the dark ground on which the poet has spread his colors, and drawn out his tragic delineations. Uncontrollable Destiny, stern, avenging, unrelenting Fate, these were the designations given to the mysterious agencies of sorrow, suffering, and woe, in the lot of mortals; and they only show how dark and inscrutable the subject appeared to the most gifted minds of antiquity, and how utterly they despaired of attaining to a solution of the problem.

The stoics alone seem to have caught a glimpse of the truth, a glimpse which led them, however, to no satisfactory results. They seem to have reached the perception, that evil could not be absolute and ultimate. That it did not exist for itself. That it could not have been the end designed by the Contriving Power. So far their system led them. But here it failed. Their boasted optimism, in consequence, was little better than verbal. It offered nothing to satisfy the wants of the soul; because it furnished no basis, and no sustenance for the sentiments of faith and love; and without these the reasonings and convictions of the highest intellects, in the emergences of life, prove utterly powerless. Thus their philosophy, like other systems, became little else than a theme of debate, an exercise of polemical skill, in which the contest was for victory rather than for truth. Their reasoning powers operating

on the elements of their creed, taught them that evil could not be ultimate; but not perceiving its true nature and relations, they were driven, in order to preserve the appearance of consistency, to cut the knot they could not disentangle, and boldly to deny its existence altogether. Thus the very elements of truth which their system embodied, were converted into paradox, and rendered powerless as guides to human conduct, for their dogmas found no response in the general mind. They sustained no weakness, they soothed no sorrow; for they opened no cheering views to the eye of faith and hope. Suffering humanity, when these cold and stern precepts and unsympathizing rebukes fell on its ear, could not but feel that it was mocked, not instructed; and turned away discouraged, if not disgusted. It was not the mission of Stoicism "to heal the broken-hearted." To all such it was a mocking demon, not a ministering angel.

In the other sects the case was no better, but rather worse. In some scarcely the first elements of truth were attained to. Human life and human nature were the veriest riddles. A sick man's dream could not be wilder, and more disordered. Strength and weakness, light and darkness, wisdom and folly, good and evil were combined in utter confusion, on no clear principles of sequence and to no perceptible end, or intelligible purpose. To one, man seemed an abortion, the failure and miscarriage of a noble design; to another, the unaccountable and irretrievable perversion of what had once been symmetrical and consummate, while a third adopted the sage conclusion, that the creating power, in a merry humor, had thrown him off to afford amusement to his betters, the grand Antick and Merry Andrew of the Universe.

Thus futile, if not mischievous, were the profoundest speculations of the sages, so called, of the olden time. Thus vain were they "in their imaginings, and their foolish hearts were darkened." The very truths they elicited, — and they did, from time to time, elicit bright and beautiful truths, — wanting basis, keeping, and harmony, became inert and unprofitable. They could not fasten themselves on the conscience; they could not sway the will or stay the torrent of the passions. They had no voice potential to awaken the sleeping echos of the soul, or stir the energies of the inner life; and so they only fell upon the external ear as a pleasant sound, that perished in the uttering, or produced, at most, a slight transient emotion.

I have said, that "the speculations of the philosophers were futile, if not mischievous." I have no doubt they were so. The general opinion seems to be, that we are to look for the finest samples of heathen morals among those who were called the learned and the wise of those days — those who had reached the highest elevation of the then existing civilization. I doubt the correctness of this opinion altogether. On the contrary, it is, I think, clear from all we can gather regarding the moral condition of the mass among the nations of antiquity, that the purest morals, the simplest humanity, the sternest integrity, the kindest and the purest social intercourse were to be found in the *unenlightened* portion of the community — in the vale of private life, among those, in short, who were uninitiated in science, letters and arts; and who knew no philosophy but the plain dictates of honest hearts, and unsophisticated understandings, — who had never heard of the philosophers, or heard of them only as visionary and idle dreamers, whose humor it was to find amusement in puzzling themselves and others. In this humble class there were doubtless unnumbered individuals, who were wise without the rules of art, endued with that highest wisdom, a simple, truthful, and believing spirit, — a spirit that rested upon, and appropriated the good which it perceived; and submitted quietly and patiently to the evil which it did not comprehend, and perplexed not itself to explain. On such as these the eye of Heaven looked down approvingly. They were "faithful in a very little." And of such the masters of ancient science might well have taken lessons. To a spirit such as this there was enough even in the religious systems of paganism to give vitality and exercise to the sentiments of faith and hope, feeble and imperfect, certainly, in comparison with what the teachings of Jesus supply, but still of great and inestimable value. For it cannot be, it were monstrous to suppose it, that the uncounted myriads, that passed over this earthly scene before the introduction of Christianity, lived without virtue, and died without hope. They were men like ourselves, with the same unquenchable instinct of immortality struggling blindly, often, and ineffectually, but still struggling towards its appropriate objects. And in men of quiet and genial temperament, where was no riot of the passions to occupy and engross the whole man, the spiritual must, in some measure, have asserted its prerogative, and caused its influence to be felt. It cannot be, that the original and inherent image of the Divinity

should have been wholly obliterated, and the heavenly spark utterly quenched. It cannot be, that the Universal Parent had no purposes of spiritual discipline for this portion of his offspring. It were a most unworthy conception of the Infinite Father, which would represent him as having but recently begun to care for his children. It is wise and more consolatory, to believe, that even in paganism there is a basis of substantial verity; something adapted to the wants of those, among whom it prevails. If it were otherwise, it could not subsist; and when its mission is accomplished it will undoubtedly pass away. God's purposes, like the great processes of nature, which indeed are parts of them, come not to perfection in an hour; and because we see not their advance, we are ready to doubt its existence. But a thousand years are with him as one day. In the perceptions of the divine mind the past, the present, and the future are identified. These distinctions are not entities, but relations only. They have reference to limited intelligences; not to the Infinite and Eternal. He contemplates results alone. To him events exist in their completeness, not in their progress. He seeth the end from the beginning, and *in* the beginning; and needs not to wait, like us, for light to be evolved from the darkness; for with him *all* is light.

It is not easy, I am well aware, to express in adequate and intelligible terms one's views on this and kindred topics. It is not easy to find expressions for thoughts that transcend, go above and beyond the principles on which language itself is formed. And modes of expression, too, react necessarily and powerfully on modes of thought. Hence we are liable to fall into the habit of regarding terms, which actually express nothing more than the imperfection of our faculties, and their unavoidably partial if not erroneous perceptions, as ultimate and final, and the indices of essential and consummate truths. We perpetually forget in the pride of our reasoning, that often we see only the wrong side of the tapestry; and that mortal ken *can* see no other. In some such dim and misty conceptions, I apprehend, we are to look for the ground and origin of much of the scholastic reasoning and theological dogmatism on the subject of foreknowledge and free will. The radical misapprehension, it seems to me, is the assumption, that the distinctions, that exist to our minds, must also exist to the mind of the Supreme, and thus mark and designate the realities of things. And yet

it is not difficult to conceive, that this may not be the case. May we not go farther and say, that in some respects at least, this cannot be the case? That the Infinite and the finite mind, in regard to the sum of things, must take different views; and that some of the ideas, actually existent to the perceptions of the latter, to those of the former must vanish and disappear? To return from this seeming digression, let me ask, may it not be so with what we call evil? Is it not conceivable that *this* may owe its existence to the imperfection of our faculties; and that where we shrink, as in the general acceptance of terms we ought to shrink, from charging its origin upon God, we do, in reality, shrink only from a shadow of our own creation? May not this be so, and may there not be sense, and the highest sense, in which in perfect consistency with his infinite perfections, it may be said that God *is* the author of evil, as of good? Let us speak and think reverently on this subject; for reverence is our proper attitude. But certainly there are many passages in the sacred writings that seem to intimate as much as this, and which, to humble and pious spirits, need not be explained away. If the scoffer will pervert them to the blinding of his conscience, and the hardening of his heart, let him look to it. To the impious and unbelieving is nothing pure. To our minds, undoubtedly, evil presents itself as a distinct substantive existence, the opposite and correlative of good, or happiness; and as real and permanent as this. And for all purposes of moral discipline let it be so regarded. Let the soul meet it with these views; and submit to it with meekness, bear it with patience and resolution, or do battle with it manfully according to the different aspects and characters in which it presents itself. I enter not into the common distinction between physical and moral evil. I do not deem it necessary to my purpose; for I believe they both are subject to the same ultimate laws; and for man at least I cannot find that they exist in entire separation.

I repeat, is not evil, or may we not suppose that it is, not positive, but relative, subsidiary, or initiatory to good? Not the result of oversight or accident, external interference or invincible necessity; but of consummate design and benevolent will? In the divine plan, can there be gratuitous suffering, superfluous, purposeless ill? I have said that evil is relative. Is it not so? In the world of realities can there be light without shade? Can one walk in the sunshine, and cast no shadow? Now in

an imperfect stage of being, — and without imperfection, there can of course be no progress, — is not evil the shadow of good, as error is that of truth? And do not all these distinctions owe their existence to the imperfection of our powers; to our necessary position? We are so placed, our point of view is such, that the shadows fall towards us, and are therefore conspicuous. To an eye of more comprehensive vision, or looking from the opposite point of view, they would be hidden by these substances, and the whole scene would be bright and unclouded. The amount of what I would say is, that evil is not absolute, but relative; not permanent and self-sustained, but temporary and parasitical; not existing of itself and *for* itself, but an offset from the stock of good, and subservient to the purposes of good; having a ministry, and a ministry of love too, to accomplish, and in the accomplishment of which it will spend itself, and disappear.

Correction, discipline, belongs to a progressive state, and can exist in no other. It is possible to imagine a system of things, in which all grades of being should be formed at once in the highest perfection of which their respective natures were capable. But it is obvious that in such a system there could be no progress, no improvement. Innocence and purity would be there; but no kindling aspirations after higher good, no delight and joy in expanding views, and new inflowings of spiritual light; no softening of the heart by sympathy, no self-sacrificing benevolence, no resolute defence of right, no heroic virtue, no lofty scorn of wrong, no cheering consciousness of increasing strength, no patient submission to the dark and inscrutable will of the Supreme, and no triumphs of that glorious faith which “against hope believeth in hope.” All these are the fruits of a state of imperfection; they are produced by the ministry of pain, or evil, nor can we conceive of the possibility of their production by any other agency. This is then the inevitable condition of their existence. Shall we murmur, shall we *wonder*, at its introduction into the world? Shall it shake our faith in the wisdom or the goodness of the Infinite Father? In what possible way could these attributes have been more brightly or more touchingly displayed?

Much of the evil of human life is undoubtedly made to depend on the action of the human will. In other words, it is contingent, and may exist, or may not. But again, is not this very contingency necessary to the training and education of the human will? Does it not constitute the very essence of

man's responsibility; that which makes him what he is, the ground of his strength and his virtue? It is doubtless cause of sorrow and humiliation when the soul weakly and wickedly yields to the power of evil, which it ought to trample under its feet; suffers its divine light to pale, and then mistakes the seeming for the real, the shadow for the substance, and entails upon itself an inheritance of bitter regret, of shame and self-reproach. But let us bear in mind that the power of choice involves the power of choosing wrong; that these errors may be rectified; that the soul is *destined* to final triumph, to break its chains, and "to lead captivity captive," — and "let us be sober and watch unto prayer."

There are probably few of mature age, who have not been taught by their own experience, that evil, in some instances, and in some degree, is capable of being transmuted into good; and differs from it therefore not in essence, but in form and appearance. Or if they have not made this inference for themselves, they have at least been made aware of the fact from which it is deduced; and where it is drawn, can hardly choose but admit its justice, in so far, at least, as their own experience goes. But if the inference be just in one case — in many — why not in all? I am aware of the difficulty of the subject; and that the conclusions to which my course of remark is tending, will be startling to many minds. But will the difficulty be diminished by shrinking from these conclusions, and stopping in mid way? But at what point shall we stop?

Most men seem to regard good and evil as antagonist principles, in the fullest sense of the word; the products of opposite and hostile agents countervailing each other; the Good and Evil Principles of the ancient Magi, in fact, engaged in eternal warfare, and alternately vanquished and victorious. This opinion is older than history, and has mingled itself in a greater or less degree with every system of theology extant. It has pervaded and corrupted to the core, nearly every form that Christianity has assumed. In the creed of almost every sect the existence of an Evil Spirit, the Prince of darkness, is a prominent article. The primal struggle is still going on. The names only are changed, the thing remains. God and Satan still hold divided sway, the world is divided, and most unequally divided, between them. All good comes from the one, all evil, at least all moral evil, from the other. To state such a dogma is to refute it.

If then evil comes not from the machinations of an independent and malignant Being, it must be here by the appointment



of the Infinite and Eternal One. And if in a single instance it may be converted into good, why may it not in every instance? And if this is possible, must it not also be probable, — must it not be certain? A being infinitely powerful and wise must also be infinitely good. Malignity implies weakness, and is inconceivable without it. The good then that an Infinite Being can do, we may safely affirm that he will do. He cannot be disappointed, circumvented, or resisted. "His counsel shall stand, and he will perform all his pleasure." And he does perform it. Scathed and marred as his creation seems, it is not so in reality. All things are working together, all agencies harmonizing, for good, for the highest good. At every step the prospect brightens. Shadow after shadow disappears, and the pure light of truth and goodness spreads itself wider and still wider over the universe. It cannot be that pain and sorrow should be the ultimate lot of any of God's children. Why should they? Whom on this supposition can they benefit? Not the sufferer certainly. The ministry of pain, sanctified by the faith and hope which it exercises but does not exhaust, is undoubtedly conducive to the purity and strength of all good affections, and to the elevation of the moral being. But then it is because it is ministrative, that it conduces to these high purposes. This is the very "soul of goodness," which Christian Philosophy evolves from this "evil thing."

Neither, as it seems to me, can it be considered as conducive to the welfare of the spectator, — if we can suppose it inflicted for this purpose, under these conditions, — when contemplated as final and permanent. The mind must be shocked and offended rather than softened, by such a spectacle. The soul of man naturally desires good, happiness, whether for itself, or for others; and rebels against the idea of its total and final wreck. It cannot, in the soundness of its faculties, be reconciled to this. The representations often made on this subject by writers of a certain class are the dictates not of unfettered reason, but of a harsh and inhuman theology. If there be any truth in the views I have presented in regard to the secondary and subservient character of evil, these representations cannot be just. If there be not, then I know not where we are to stop short of the doctrine of two opposite and independent powers, whose strife is universal, and will be interminable; and in this case, for aught I can perceive, we are as likely to fall under the power of the one as of the other. There is no security for us but in the essential goodness of one Supreme and Infinite Ruler.

And to me it appears impossible that this essential goodness can be made consistent with the irretrievable perdition of any of his creatures. I mean to say, that if God be good, unchangeably and essentially, then, under no circumstances, and at no time, here or hereafter, can the motives and the means of recovery, of self-rectification, be withheld from the most erring and sinful of his creatures. No judicial infliction, no sentence of reprobation, can preclude their return to virtue and to peace. This must ever, as now, depend on the unfettered action of their own wills. Thus far, as I think, the dictates of sober reason, and the analogies of human life, clearly conduct us. And why should not these analogies be trusted? Duly understood and wisely considered, they do not mislead us in regard to the present. Why should it be thought, that they will prove delusive in regard to the future? Why should it be supposed, that the natural event of death, the dissolution of the mortal frame, should change the relations of the undying soul to its Creator, and change them so fearfully? Why should the period of probation for beings, who are to live on when the lights of the firmament shall have gone out in darkness, be thought to be limited to this brief mortal existence? Besides, to untold myriads of the human race this life furnishes no means of probation at all. And with other myriads the case is still worse, and harder of solution; for they are born, live, and die, in unavoidable subjection to the darkest and most debasing influences. They pass through life, as it would seem, unaware of its high responsibilities, unawakened to the consciousness of their immortal natures, and with the idea of the Divinity never developed in their minds. And can it be, that thus they pass to their *final* judgment? The thought is monstrous. "Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?" And yet this thought is cherished by the popular theology, and makes a part of it. Is it not sad to think how closely the minds of men cling to their errors; how reluctantly they open for the admission of the highest truths; how, as of old, the light still shineth in darkness, with faint and struggling rays? It is hard to conceive how such views of God's government, and any true, generous, and unselfish love towards him, can subsist together. The sentiments cherished towards him must take their tone from the apprehension entertained of his character. Express ourselves as we may, accumulate as we will the most respectful and reverential terms, if we do in fact regard the laws of his government as partial or capricious — as founded

on any other basis than infinite good will — we only deceive ourselves ; and our real sentiments, call them by what name we may, are unworthy of the Infinite Father. If we would have the idea of God be, as it ought to be, the central light and life of our souls, we must clear it from every cloud and speck of imperfection, and suffer it to shine upon us full-orbed and with unchecked effulgence.

Thus far had the writer proceeded when his pen, ever devoted to the cause of Truth, was arrested by death.

Martin Luther Hurlbut died in Philadelphia on the 17th January, 1843, in the 63d year of his age. It may not be foreign from the purposes of this periodical to glance at the life and character of one whose name has long been united with that of Liberal Christianity. He was born in Southampton, Massachusetts, of parents whose labors upon the farm he shared from early years. His education was such as is usually bestowed upon the village boys of New England ; but his mind, early and deeply impressed with the value of knowledge, pressed forward to its attainment with a vigor and steadiness never relaxed through his long life. At an early age he entered Williams College, and there received such instruction as the then limited means of that institution could afford. After graduation he continued and completed under the roof of the venerable Dr. Appleton the studies appropriate for the Christian Ministry, upon which he had resolved to enter. The tenets which had been instilled into his mind from childhood were Calvinistic, and such was his profession of Faith when he entered the sacred desk. To one, however, of such a clear and forcible intellect, and withal of so true, pure, and loving a heart, the inconsistencies of the system were apparent, and the appalling injustice of its leading tenets jarred strangely on his soul. Then ensued the long struggle of the Spirit and the Custom, not resolved into a solid unwavering certainty for many years. A disease, from which he never fully recovered, having compelled him to abandon the pulpit, he devoted himself to the tasks of a Teacher. The slight traces in possession of his family scarcely mark the outline of his life at this period, until about 1807, when he resided in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. There, in the admirable society which that place afforded, and in the intimate converse with minds of high order, some of

which still illuminate the country, he trained and cultivated the powers of his mind, and won a high position as a classical and general scholar. But this state of things was, like the few other sunny spots of his life, but of short duration. He was driven by pulmonary complaints to seek a more southern clime, and after a short visit to South America, settled in Beaufort, South Carolina, as the President of a College established in that place. His character and unrivalled skill in imparting knowledge, soon attached to him many friends, who adhered to him notwithstanding the fierce political animosities dividing the country upon the subject of the approaching war. Here too he formed an attachment, concluded by marriage, with Miss Lydia Bunce. In 1815 he removed to the city of Charleston, whither his reputation had preceded him, and commanded for him a school unequalled perhaps in number, and from which issued many of the brightest ornaments of the present time in that city and in the State. For a long series of years his reputation and usefulness continued to increase, as his eminent abilities ripened with time, and extended farther and farther his acquisitions. But his health, never firm, yielded more and more to the incessant labor of his profession and the influence of the climate. Added to this, numerous and severe private afflictions bent him to the earth. A wife tenderly loved, child after child dear to the affections and full of bright promise and proud hope, perished around him. He was persuaded that change of residence, the more bracing air of a northern clime, would endue him with more strength to fulfil his duties and prolong an existence most important to his dependent family. He had married again, in 1823, Miss Margaret Morford, of Princeton, New Jersey, who fulfilled a mother's duty to the children of his first marriage, and who still survives him. With her and those who still remained to form the family circle, he came to Philadelphia, where he resided until his death.

But it is from his connection with Unitarian Christianity, that peculiar mention is here due to Mr. Hurlbut. He was, in truth, among the most efficient in establishing the Unitarian Congregation in Charleston, and frequently lent his aid to the defence and maintenance of the positions he believed. Having himself by many struggles arrived at the truth and cast off the dominion of custom and education, he was fully master of the subject and an admirable guide to those who were still uncertain in the road. Nor can this influence of his be better

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sketched, than in the words of a Funeral Discourse pronounced by the Rev. Dr. Gilman, in the Unitarian Church of Charleston, upon receipt of the news of his death.

"Although educated a Calvinist, and having commenced preaching in the belief of that religious denomination, yet his mind had long been gradually assuming more liberal views of Christianity. He had been an associate of the youthful and eloquent Buckminster, and was intimate with the excellent Dr. Parker, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Accordingly he entered with the fullest and most active sympathy into all the struggles, principles, and conduct of the Rev. Mr. Forster. When Mr. Forster felt constrained to promulgate those views of Unitarian Christianity which resulted in the separation of this Church, he was countenanced and supported in the most effectual manner by Mr. Hurlbut, who, in conjunction with the late Judge Lee, Mr. Hugh Paterson, and several other votaries of religious liberty, secured the existence, establishment, and subsequent prosperity of this religious society. He was willing to stake his popularity, his standing, and his prospects of future support on a cause, which he deemed to involve the best and dearest interests of society, and which, from profound and patient study, he felt convinced was identical with all necessary and fundamental Religious Truth. Few of you, who are now enjoying in quiet your spiritual privileges, can appreciate the degree of Christian heroism required to introduce a new modification of religion against the prejudices, convictions, and opposition of a whole community. But with all the tremulous uncertainty of the experiment, Mr. Hurlbut and his coadjutors manfully took their stand. He defended the Ark in which were deposited his most precious spiritual treasures, by his tongue, by his pen, by his substance, by the sacrifice of his ease, and the exposure of all those *earthly* blessings, which less disinterested men imagine are the first to be looked after. He wrote several impressive essays in the Unitarian Defendant, published in this city in 1822. He published a charming life of Mr. Forster, which he prefixed to a volume of Sermons by that lamented divine; and he still continued to enlighten and favor the public by several essays inserted in the Christian Examiner\* and among the Tracts of the American Unitarian Association. But it was not so much by his active public exertions, or by the multiplication of his felicitous writings, as by the experimental work-

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\* Mr. Hurlbut was the author of two articles in the Examiner, the first in the No. for March, 1837, on "Furness's Remarks on the Four Gospels;" the second in the No. for March, 1839, On the Genius and Character of Scott. — Ed.

ings of Religion in his interior character, that Mr. Hurlbut deserved the epithet of *godly* presented in our text. (Psalms xii. 1.) He cherished an habitual, living, perceptible sense of the Divine Government in the world. You could not be acquainted with him without recognising the power and beauty of his faith. I never saw, and I never read, in any instance of an uninspired character, of the sentiment of religion employed so availably, so efficaciously, so successfully, and even so triumphantly, against the mighty inroads of affliction and adversity, as in the case of him to whom these brief and imperfect notices are devoted. Storm after storm of disaster fell upon him; child after child of extraordinary and precocious promise was snatched from his embrace; year after year of pain, debility, and disease seemed to drag him through existence, — yet still you found him erect, elastic, calm, *cheerful* even, for his soul amidst every earthquake had leaned palpably upon its God. This was not stoical indifference, for he had the keen susceptibilities of a child. It was the power of his clear and deliberate *faith*. Thus he continued to the last. Death came upon him unexpectedly indeed, but took him not by surprise. He calmly made his preparations as for a journey of tomorrow morning. *'I shall soon be with them,'* he said, alluding to the departed spirits of his family. Wearied and shattered but not crushed or subdued, the Hero of many a mighty moral struggle, the sympathizing follower of Him who was the man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, he wrapped his drapery around him, and after a pilgrimage of sixty-three years, he fell asleep, or rather he awoke to an eternal existence."

Such is some outline of the life of one whose desert was of that retiring nature, whose pursuits and habits were so secluded and domestic, that they claimed and received none of that public and popular reward which the force of circumstances frequently bestows upon less attainments. His light never shone in public, except when struck out by collision with what he conceived popular error, and only on rare occasions did he put forth his powers. The strength of his intellect, and the solidity of his moral faculties, were only equalled by the depth of his affections; and hence resulted a character of rare balance and harmony fully equipped either to act or to suffer.

He has fought the good fight, and left to those whose career has not yet closed "the memory of a well spent life." To those who knew and regarded him, in the words of his Master we would say, "If ye loved me ye would rejoice, because I go to the Father."

## THE POET OF PUSEYISM.\*

NOWADAYS every important movement even in politics and theology appears anxious to enlist the muses in its cause. Amongst us, songs have been found more potent for electioneering purposes than speeches ; and inflammatory hymns have done more to promote fanaticism than the sermons of itinerant ranters, or the tracts of the champions of the Second Advent. Temperance and Anti-slavery owe no small degree of their progress to poetic aid. The cause of the slave especially has inspired some of the noblest lyrics in the language, and Longfellow and Whittier have sung of freedom to ears else deaf to its claims.

Our mother-country shows the same tendency to connect poetry with present interests. The Muses speak now from unwonted quarters and upon unwonted themes. Their voice is heard from busy factories and from learned halls. The Corn Law Rhymer sings sadly of the burdens of the poor, and calls sternly for reform. The Conservative wails over the irreverence and degeneracy of the times, and sighs for a return of those former and better days, when altar and throne were thought to stand side by side upon the rock of ages.

We propose to speak particularly of the poet of the most remarkable movement that is now going on in England. We are probably right in regarding the author of "The Cathedral," and "The Baptistery," as more eminently the bard of Puseyism than any other aspirant to the honor. By him (Isaac Williams is his name) the doctrines of the Oxford Tracts are virtually set to music, and made quite melodious. In fact, we are moved to believe, that the Oxford Movement owes much more of its diffusion to its poetry than to its theology. Dr. Pusey speaks of Keble's *Christian Year*, as the book that first awakened the English Church from its laxity and torpor, and became the herald of a new age. To us surely there is far more power in that beautiful volume than in all the Tracts.

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\* 1. *Thoughts in Past Years.* By the Author of "The Cathedral." New York. 1841. — 2. *The Cathedral, or the Catholic and Apostolic Church in England.* Third Edition. Oxford. 1841. — 3. *The Baptistery, or the way of Eternal Life.* By the Author of "The Cathedral." Oxford. 1842.

We should be in much greater danger of being converted to the Oxford doctrine regarding the Holy Supper by Mr. Williams's exquisite Sacramental Hymn than by Dr. Pusey's ponderous sermon on the Eucharist, although we are not likely to be led by either of them into the idolatrous practice of worshipping bread and wine as very God.

It is obvious that the Oxford Divinity has some peculiar poetical capabilities. It idolizes antiquity, and has the affluence of the old ecclesiastical ages to supply images and associations. It is highly mystical, and allows a scope in finding double senses and spiritualizing the letter, that would astound a Transcendentalist and horrify a Swedenborgian. It revels amid the ruins of the past, and finds its most precious themes in holy places that faith has adored and romance glorified. It stands moreover in such contrast with the general tendency of the times, as to find ample material for eloquent rebuke and admirable ground for a bold display of its marked characteristics. Its strains come upon the ear as a vesper hymn that should peal forth from some venerable cathedral in the midst of a bustling city, and bid the wayfarer quit the tumult, and enter and adore. There is an air of sadness moreover about these modern ascetics that is highly favorable to poetic feeling and effect. The deepest poetry as well as the holiest faith has been nurtured in the sanctuary of sorrow. We may see the truth of this in the sacred poets of Scripture, in the penitential Psalms and in the elegies of the prophets. "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people," is a passage not only characteristic of Jeremiah the Jew, but of all the Jeremiahs who have mourned over a captive nation or a fallen church. These Anglo-Catholic Churchmen, as they style themselves, sigh for the return of the past; and as they consider the progress of what they call licentiousness, but the world calls reform, they wail forth their grief in plaintive notes, else indignantly appeal to the faithful to come and rescue the Holy Ark from Philistine hands. Now sorrow, especially when connected with lofty interests, is very capable of a poetic turn. It is far easier to sing of griefs than joys, even as it is easier to paint the clouds that darken the sky than the clear and almost living azure of an unclouded firmament; far easier to represent the varied colors of the broken solar beam than the colorless light of the undivided ray.

Dr. Johnson in his life of Waller has asserted, that religious



sentiments and the ideas of Christian Theology cannot be fully applied to poetical purposes; and he spoke undoubtedly the truth so far as his own views of religion and theology are concerned. But his views of Christianity had neither the romance of the imaginative Catholic nor the freedom of the genial Protestant. The noblest poetry has been inspired by religious sentiment; yet we allow it to be very hazardous to try to connect dogmatic theology with poetry. Dante and Milton, Tasso and Spenser show their religion in every canto, almost in every line; yet their poems are very little helped by the dogmas that now and then appear. Even Dante, in his attempt to construct Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, upon the true Catholic model, moves far more by his portraiture of character and pictures of scenery than by his exhibition of dogmas. It is a somewhat perilous experiment therefore for a writer to undertake to embody theology in verse and make dogmatists of the Muses. In fact the Muses, notwithstanding the Christian costume they have adopted in the Christian ages, often show a yearning for their pristine ways, and give evidence that the waters of Siloa have by no means cured them of their love of Helicon.

However it is far easier for a strong Churchman to embody his faith in poetry than for an Independent, especially one of any great Calvinistic bias. Calvinism is too metaphysical to admit of proper ideal imagery, and all true poets of this faith have most happily contrived to overlook their dogmas in their verse, and have owed their power to the proper treatment of those great moral and religious subjects, which concern all men and all creeds. How little Calvinism there is for instance in Cowper. Besides, Calvinism is too soul-crushing, too disparaging to the human will and affections to allow the poet free range through the world and free use of life's common scenes and characters. The Churchman loves to connect outward beauty with religion; and even shapes the decorations of the sanctuary in unison with his doctrines. The baptismal font and holy table not only have a picturesque beauty in the Cathedral, but are regarded as the great media of regeneration and life. Thus dogmatism is made beautiful, and a poem, like Keble's on Baptism or Williams's Sacramental Hymn, at once recalls a beautiful scene, and urges an alleged doctrine. Where forms are less regarded, the tendency is to forget outward beauty, and make religion either so metaphysical as to appeal solely to the intel-

lect, or so practical as to address the conscience to the neglect of the imagination. If we were to compare the poetry of Dissenters with that of Churchmen, we should say that the former are the best portrayers of human life in the whole extent of its interests, while the latter succeed far better in throwing romantic beauty round their doctrines and ritual. The Roman Catholic faith has the most poetical capability, and the Puseyite comes not far from it; whilst the mongrel theology, which is neither Catholic nor Protestant, which apes ancient splendor, and caricatures modern freedom, has neither Roman grandeur nor Protestant boldness.

But we must hasten to our work and not linger more upon our way. We have before us three interesting volumes from the pen of Mr. Williams, which are attractive from their outward beauty as well as their literary worth. Only one of them has appeared in an American edition. "The Cathedral" has been announced, but its delay leads us to suppose that its embellishments are too expensive to reward an American publisher. The Baptistery is of the last year's press, and so peculiar in its illustrations as hardly to induce any attempts at imitation; and without the illustrations the poetry would be often as unintelligible as marginal notes without the text.

"Thoughts in Past Years" give us glimpses of the author's mind during the twelve years previous to the date of their first publication, 1838. They introduce us to a man whom we cannot but love, a thoughtful and somewhat mystic mind, a tender and somewhat sad heart, a quiet but by no means imbecile will. The pieces in the volume are arranged according to their dates and the places where they were composed. We have space but for two short extracts. In a Sonnet headed "Religious Emotions," he thus teaches a lesson that all minds like his are happy in learning:—

"Right onward must we bear  
Thro' varying feelings; let Faith hold the stern,  
And they to haven urge the flagging sail.  
As petals from the flower, thus feelings born  
Of outward things, as we to death proceed,  
Drop from us one by one, and leave the seed,  
A power for good or evil, not to fail  
When from the soul its earthly shell is torn."

Here is an exquisite passage from the "Mountain Home," a piece written after a severe illness in 1826. Illness is no ill that breathes such sentiments:—

“ And Thou wilt not forget my trembling soul  
 Mid millions — Thou wilt dwell alone with me,  
 Father and Friend, as on the twinkling main  
 Sleep countless Moons in pictured miniature,  
 Each in unbroken semblance ; or the Sun  
 Spangles the dew-drops on each pearly blade,  
 Each drop reflects his perfect beam, each blade  
 Drinks life as if for him alone it glowed.”

This whole volume is much more free than the others. It shows less of the Churchman and more of the Christian and man, although many of the pieces bear expressly upon controverted points, and neglected Fasts and slighted Rubrics are the burden of many a lament. But the other volumes seem written expressly for a specific aim, and quite as doctrinal in their purpose as the famous Tracts. The author bears evidently little love for Rome, not enough to please his reviewer in the British Critic ; yet he shows the chief peculiarities of the Divinity that leans toward Romanism. Baptism is regeneration, the Eucharist, eternal life, the Catholic Church, the only fountain of salvation, if we are to respond to the doctrines of “ The Cathedral ” and “ The Baptistery.” We observe, moreover, that wherever the Sacramental table is introduced into the illustrations, candles are invariably placed upon it ; a sure sign of return to the usages of the middle ages.

The “ Cathedral ” aims to connect a series of ecclesiastical poems with the several parts of a Gothic Church, by selecting subjects more or less appropriate to the parts which they are made to represent “ from the Liturgy and the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church ; care being taken to adhere as much as possible to the relative proportions of such a structure.” The result is one of the most beautiful volumes of the day — beautiful in its embellishments and its text. It is thoroughly Gothic even to the smallest vignettes at the ends of chapters. In its plan it resembles Herbert’s Temple, as the author allows ; but it is much more complete, and gives an appropriate poem to every principal part of a Cathedral. An especial poem by the by is devoted to Herbert, who has a place in one of the Sepulchral Recesses that are consecrated to the Churchman’s friends. He is thus spoken of in the fourth stanza : —

“ Meek Herbert, would that such as I  
 Could learn thy lesson high,

Those ways that made thy spirit's tone  
 A midnight orison,  
 'Thy more than manly wisdom free,  
 And child's simplicity."

Yet notwithstanding this high tribute to his worth, how different his tone from that of the Oxford School. His genial piety and rich humor have small parallel in the ascetic spirit and plaintive tone of the bard of "The Cathedral." Herbert's faith seems so strong and buoyant as if it never had come in contact with doubt, and mirth seems to have a place in his religion, just as grotesque figures looked down from ancient Cathedral walls. Williams is constantly mourning over the decay of faith and the neglect of worship, and no smile plays over his pensive face. We remember not a single trace of humor in his pages, except in an early poem, a Sonnet to a Mole, which he calls,

"My little miner, with the velvet coat."

The lines on the approach to the Cathedral give a good idea of the general tone of the other pieces.

"When all the air calm Evening woos,  
 And earthly mists are wafted by,  
 And nought unholy breathing nigh,  
 Yon grove in deeps of its repose  
 A wondrous portal doth disclose.  
 And far within a living way,  
 Lit up by an unfading day,  
 Thro' the long gloomy vale of woes.  
 And childlike wisdom holds the key,  
 And wealth that to the world is poor,  
 Wide opes to them that ivory door,  
 Where all in other colors stand,  
 Touched by a disenchanting wand,  
 And things that seemed of earth, of Heaven are found to be."

The three doors of the Western Front are made emblems respectively of Repentance, Obedience, and Faith. These lines from the poem on Faith cannot but commend themselves to every lover of the beautiful.

"When these dead walls her heaven-born aid  
 And secret spirit shall pervade,  
 Terrestrial things become divine:  
 'T is on her breath the Collect soars,  
 And Psalms attain the eternal doors;

No health in the baptismal wave  
In hallowed cup no power to save  
Without her, — life a cheerless noon,  
And death a night without a moon.

Here when her rapt eye heavenward streams  
In calm and holy Litanies,  
She bringeth down the pitying skies ;  
The dove upon the fountain gleams,  
In broad mysterious blessing teems.  
Thence going forth she to chaste eyes  
Clothes nature with her sympathies ;  
When night's dark curtains fall, she seems,  
On mountain tops with silvery feet,  
Holding with Heaven communion sweet ;  
When clouds Heaven's morning surface wield,  
She opes beyond her bright-blue shield ;  
When warring tumults gather near,  
She lifts the consecrated spear."

The most interesting portions of "The Cathedral" are those poems on the Sepulchral Recesses which briefly characterize the Churchman's friends, and those on the side windows which represent the Ancient Fathers. From the former we would gladly extract the passages upon Taylor and Butler and from the latter the passages upon Tertullian, Origen, and Augustine. But merely observing, that we thank Mr. Williams for so gently touching upon the heresies of our old friend Origen, we must close the volume with quoting the closing sentiment of the author, as characteristic of his position with regard to this utilitarian age. His whole system of divinity seems so wedded to a stately Minster, as to languish apart from its shrine. An angel kneeling with hands clasped over his face is the vignette at the head, and another angel bearing away a glorified saint is the vignette at the close of the final poem, "The Departure." Sad poet, there is no abiding place for you in this age, and you too must find an angel guide to a more congenial sphere! Rather more morbid sentimentality than true spiritualism dictates words like these. The true Christian of the Gospel school will never languish because away from a grand Cathedral. This is the Farewell.

"Beautiful vision, let me hold thee still,  
And gaze on thee, — smiling thou seemest to fly,

And flying still to smile. If 't is Heaven's will  
 Thou shouldst depart 'mong things that are gone by,  
 In thy hands bear me with thee to the sky,  
 Angelic vision ! I no more would mourn  
 The goodliest things that pass from mortal eye,  
 But hold thee in thy flight, and with thee borne  
 Mount to the heavenly gate, the threshold of the morn."

A few words now upon the last of the three volumes, "*The Baptistery*." It aims to teach the doctrines of practical Christianity in a series of poems attached to some singular engravings, which are taken with a few alterations from an old Latin Work by Boetius a Bolswert. The illustrations begin with a symbolical view of the Baptismal Font.

"How art thou seen in Heaven, O living well,  
 The Fount of our New Birth, the blessed seal  
 Of our inheritance ?"

The idea of the book is to arrange emblems of the great Christian truths in pictured scenes as on the walls of the place of Baptism.

"Thus on the sides of our Baptismal cell  
 Are ranged the various scenes of our new birth,  
 And round our household hearth in vision dwell,  
 Weighed in the scale of their immortal worth ;  
 As angels may behold the things of earth."

There is considerable genius, but far more quaintness in the engraved illustrations. The hobgoblins of our nursery superstition are here exhibited in all their glory. Hell-fire, devils with horns, tails, and cloven feet, glare upon us in a large proportion of the plates. The author has no idea of countenancing the conceptions of the arch fiend, that such sad heretics as Milton and Goethe have given. Not Satan the majestic rebel, not Mephistopheles the cold-blooded, gentlemanly tempter, but a gross, and ludicrous imp, with a toad's belly, serpent's tail, goat's hoofs, and with head sometimes of peacock and sometimes of horned beast, represents the devil of this Oxford bard. There is such a gross spirit of evil in the world indeed, but so also there is an evil spirit like Satan and Mephistopheles. Perhaps the Churchman as well as the poet speaks out in this fling at Milton : —

"And sure much harmful influence is wrought  
By those proud spirits of the later age,  
Who throw heroic grandeur o'er the shape  
Of the Arch Evil One, — in dread sublime  
Throning him, as that bard we may admire  
But cannot love."

As to the practical religion of the poems of this volume, there is much in it that pleases us, and much that offends. It is evidently Arminian in its theology, and gives great honor to good works. Prayer and almsgiving are constantly numbered among the helps to Heaven, although of course the faithful use of the sacraments is deemed the main essential. Several beautiful passages on prayer might be quoted, but a brief one must suffice. It is from the "Preparations of Prayer: " —

"Prayer, key of wisdom, sorrow's antidote,  
Air breathed on earth by children of the skies, —  
The well of hope, of living life the note,  
What strange omnipotence within thee lies,  
Mighty to move eternal destinies!  
An atmosphere of Heaven the soul to lave;  
When seas tumultuous in the bosom rise,  
O magic breath to still the stormy wave  
And fix the anchor sure in calm beyond the grave."

A Protestant taste is troubled by the ecclesiastical pomp that the illustrations connect with every spiritual grace, as if there could be no goodness or truth out of church or away from mitre and cassock. A page of the simple and blessed gospel of Christ is as refreshing after looking over the book, as a walk in green fields under bright stars after a pompous pageant. Yet there is no want of humility in the writer. He shows no personal arrogance; for he appears to speak as a man looking to an authority above him, and whose sanctity he must assert. Self-denial is a frequent theme, and there is some treason in the commendation of the ascetic life. In the picture before the "Choice of Life," three ways to Heaven are marked out, one of which is very crooked, the other less so, and the last quite straight; and these correspond respectively to the secular, the ecclesiastical, and the retired life. Sentiments like these would hardly pass the ordeal of Drs. Anthon and Smith; Monasticism speaks almost thus: —

“Thrice happy they, who earthly stores have sold,  
Dear sublunary joys, domestic ties,  
And form themselves into one holy fold  
To imitate on earth the happy skies,  
With vigil, prayer, and sacred litanies,  
Their souls to Heavenly contemplation given,  
While earthly hope within them buried lies,  
Their sole employ to purge the evil leaven  
And render their cleansed souls a fit abode for Heaven.”

It seems a great mistake that the author of “The Baptistry” did not live in the twelfth instead of the nineteenth century. Yet after all, he is a man of our age, and his love of the past is rather that of the poet, who sees other ages in the enchantment of distance, than of the staunch ecclesiastic, who is born to hurl the anathema or wear the cowl. There is a great deal of *dilettantism* about the whole Oxford school—much of the same spirit that leads the fashionable Parisienne to add an Oratory to her parlor, that her guests may look from the gay throng upon hallowed crucifix and illuminated missal. Yet there is something more than this among the best of them, much true piety and Christian wisdom.

We have been more than once reminded of our New England Transcendentalism by these volumes of poems. It is transcendentalism carried beyond nature and connected with glorious buildings and ancient rites, instead of blue skies and holy instincts. Strange as it may seem, there is much in these volumes to remind us of our friends of the Dial.

Thus it appears that the Oxford Movement is by no means one-sided; that sweet poets hold up its ideal beauty, whilst historians, moralists and preachers, like Palmer, Sewell, Newman, and Pusey, undertake to show its foundation in the word of God, the traditions of antiquity, and the nature of things. To us the poet is the most satisfactory expositor, and we thank Mr. Williams, as we would thank one who should be our guide through some stately Minster or picturesque ruin, although we should by no means pray to pass our lives in such romantic haunts. We prefer broad daylight and this working-day world. So does our age.



## THE EARLY LITERARY HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

## NO. III.

THE WRITINGS OF CHRISTIANS CONTEMPORARY WITH AND  
IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE APOSTLES.

HAVING pursued our general subject of Early Christian Literature under the two divisions of—the Indistinct and Superficial Notices of Christianity, which we might expect from its chance observers—and the Authorship, Use, and Preservation of the New-Testament,—we have come to the third division of our subject, which embraces the writings ascribed to “Apostolical Fathers.”

Some interest attaches to the History of Christian Literature between the age of the Apostles and that of those early writers who are called the Fathers of the Church. Papias, who heads the list of Fathers, flourished about A. D. 116. By the natural course of things there was one generation between him and the Apostles, and we naturally inquire if there be any connecting link, in Christian documents, between the Scriptures of the New Testament and the commentaries, apologies, and homilies of those distinguished men, who, either from their prominence before their conversion or their high offices in the church, deserve the distinction of being called the Fathers. No important consequences could be attached to the absence of any such documents. For, while the Christian Scriptures were ready for use—as no one could write more valuable records—there was no reason why any should be written. Where documents would be valued at all, those by the Apostles would be preferred; and even these would be estimated by some rules of preference, each community valuing most those which had been addressed to itself. The communication of religious instruction would most naturally be by word of mouth, by the voice of the missionary preacher. Some time would pass in the trial of this method, till habits of retired study, the necessities of individual converts, the rise of heresies, and questions of interpretation and doctrine, would gradually lead to the production

of that various Christian literature, which, if as produced in the early ages it were now preserved, would overwhelm us in the mass. If, therefore, a generation had passed between the last of the Apostles and the first of the Fathers, without leaving any written record, there would be nothing strange in the omission. To account for and fill up the vacant space would be perfectly within the capacity of ordinary good sense. We should leap from one age to another, from Inspired Scripture to fallible history, from the record of sound doctrine to the mingled wisdom and folly of human mind. But we are not left to account for such an omission. The chasm between the Apostles and the Fathers is in some degree filled by documents of different kinds which have been preserved to our times.

Before entering upon their examination, it may be well to reflect for a moment upon what kind of literary relics we should naturally expect to find under the circumstances. The period lay between the Apostles and the Fathers, midway. There was of course room for intended deception, for ignorant enthusiasm, and for the taking advantage of credulity, as well as for the lawful exercise of Christian zeal and devotion. We might say at once, and before knowing anything concerning the matter, that if there were real, honest writings from uninspired men, the contemporaries and immediate successors of the Apostles, there would likewise be other writings in that or in subsequent times falsely laying claim to that character. Besides it is possible and natural, that a character and an author better than a work deserved, might have been attributed to it by mistake as well as by intentional fraud. Thus common sense would authorize us to look for three classes of writings in this age. First, fabricated documents with a fictitious character; second, documents ignorantly or by mistake attributed to the friends or disciples of Christianity; third, genuine and well attested writings, whose authorship admitted of being proved to be of this high antiquity and value. The transition from Apostolic to Ecclesiastical literature would be gradual; the line would be blurred; distinctions would be confounded; fact and fable would mingle together. A bold deceiver might prepare a document to suit his belief or heresies, and give it forth to the world as written by a companion of an Apostle. Some traditionary saying of an early convert or preacher, after passing from mouth to

mouth, might be committed to writing, and be honored by its transcriber with the name of one whose advice or instruction it copied. Here would be error without fraud. It is altogether probable that in the early age there was a large mass of this literature. Specimens of each of these three classes have come down to us ; much more we know only by name. The haze of antiquity, which makes our backward view so indistinct, does not in the least impair the authority of Christianity, for that lives in its own attested records. We may well imagine that the minds of Christian converts, excited as they were, would not admit of being guided by the calm and considerate influences which we prefer. False miracles would then be alleged and credited through mere excitement. Here and there a more earnest preacher, confessor, or martyr would feel impelled to follow the example of Apostles in writing letters to one or another Christian community, and he would often perform his work with more zeal than wisdom. His own name might be that of an Apostle, and the ignorant might confound his work with theirs. The literature of the first century of uninspired Christian writers exhibits a devoted spirit, which, without talents to give it a fit expression, satisfied itself in writing with a mere repetition, with an alteration for the worse, of Scripture sentiment. The documents may afford us additional evidence, they can scarcely give us additional light. Their authors seem to be hardly conscious whether they existed as spirits or as men. The language and mode of thought which they used were new to them, the imagery which they employed was not familiar. A different standard of reasoning prevailed from that which we follow. Very many circumstances, which it is difficult to single out and present in their true light, contributed to influence the minds and hearts of those who, when the last of the Apostles had died, found themselves left with the care of the Christian faith. In the midst of their interest in it, there was an inability to survey it in its grand and comprehensive relations as we now do. They often trifled with that they could not comprehend, and thus enfeebled their own faith. The deceptions, which those who were called Christians allowed themselves to practice in those early times immediately following the age of the Apostles, are called by the name, invented for the purpose, of "pious frauds." While we may deny altogether the propriety of this expression, we must nevertheless allow something

to the piety which was mingled with the deception. In many instances the deception had a greater influence over its first subject than it did over any of his successors. We should be far from the mark, did we suppose that the communication of Christianity to the mind of an ignorant, a sophistical, or a superstitious Gentile, was accompanied with intelligence, with a superiority to all common prejudices, or with an ability to take wide and lofty views concerning any subject. Far otherwise. Christianity took its converts as it found them with their superstition and their ignorance. This being the case, we may well imagine what scope was afforded them for the invention of legends and for self-deception. The difference between the Scriptures of the New Testament and the subsequent early Christian writings, in respect of depth and strength of mind, is remarkable. A spirit of emulation might be excited amongst the early Fathers and Preachers to follow the example of the Apostles in leaving letters behind them. Their own converts or hearers might be tempted to write down the substance of their advice or discourses, and in process of time, a sentence in such a writing, which gave to the document all the life and interest which it possessed, might give it likewise the name of an Apostle. To some such cause we are to attribute the existence of several spurious compositions which are often mentioned by early writers. Most of these we know only by name, for they were suffered to fall into an early forgetfulness. Many traditions likewise would find their way into history. Our evidence for the divine origin of Christianity must be found in the religion itself, and in the history, character, and actions of its teachers. We must not seek for such evidence to be afforded in the total change of the heart and mind of every early convert, whatever his natural character. Nothing then is more natural than that legends and traditions should be mingled with early Christian history. It is impossible now to distinguish between them in some cases, which, however, are of no importance to the interests of our faith. We shall always find our advantage in allowing something to the tendencies and infirmities of the human mind. Nor are we to charge fraud upon one who first tells, or who afterwards repeats a story, which we either know to be false or have not sufficient evidence to authenticate. It is hard in some cases to draw the line between fraud and error, or mistake. Some early writers say that Ignatius,

the martyred Bishop of Antioch, was the child whom Jesus took in his arms. There is nothing improbable in the story ; it may be true. It is natural that some individual should have been so designated. All we can say is, that we can neither verify nor disprove this and some other similar stories. We meet with a statement that the Apostles, before setting out upon their journeys, cast lots as to their destination. This however is improbable ; for we may well suppose that, instead of leaving such a matter to chance, they would have been guided by occasions, and by their individual qualifications. The superiority of the New Testament Scriptures above such idle, random assertions, constitutes no feeble argument for their high authority. Of a similar character are the pretensions of different countries, that certain Apostles, or individuals named in the New Testament, are buried within their territories, — Peter and Paul in Rome, Mary Magdalene in Florence, Lazarus in France, James in Spain, Andrew in Russia, Simon and Joseph of Arimathea in England. It is of no consequence whether the stories are true or false.

Many Christians believe that the Apostles, assembled in council, composed the creed which passes under their name. There is nothing improbable on the face of this story, but it is wholly destitute of evidence. There is nothing in the creed repugnant to Scripture, for its sentiments may all be found there. Here seems to be the proper place to mention a pretended correspondence between Jesus and Abgarus, prince of Edessa in Mesopotamia. Eusebius, in the year 315, makes the first mention of this correspondence. He says that it existed among the public records and antiquities of the city of Edessa, that it was in the Syriac language, and that he procured it to be translated for him.

“The copy of the letter which was written by Abgarus the Toparch to Jesus, and sent to him at Jerusalem by the courier Ananias.

“Abgarus, Toparch (or Prince) of Edessa, to Jesus, the good Saviour, who has appeared at Jerusalem, sendeth greeting : I have heard of thee, and of thy cures, performed without herbs or other medicines. For it is reported that thou makest the blind to see, and the lame to walk ; that thou cleansest lepers, and castest out unclean spirits and demons, and healest those who are tormented with diseases of a long standing, and raisest the dead. Having heard of all these things concerning thee, I

concluded in my mind one of these two things, — either that thou art God come down from Heaven to do these things, or else that thou art the Son of God, and so performest them. Wherefore, I now write unto thee, entreating thee to come to me, and to heal my distemper. Moreover, I hear that the Jews murmur against thee, and plot to do thee mischief. I have a city, small indeed, but neat, which may suffice for both.”

“Now let us attend,” says Eusebius, “to the letter which Jesus returned by the same courier, short indeed, but very powerful. It is in these words.”

The rescript of Jesus to the Toparch Abgarus, sent by the courier Ananias.

“Abgarus, thou art happy, forasmuch as thou hast believed in me, though thou hast not seen me.” John xx. 29. “For it is written concerning me, that they who have seen me should not believe in me, that they who have not seen me might believe and live. As for what thou hast written to me, desiring me to come to thee, it is necessary that all those things for which I am sent, should be fulfilled by me here: and that, after fulfilling them, I should be received up to him that sent me. When, therefore, I shall be received up, I will send to thee some one of my disciples, that he may heal thy distemper, and give life to thee, and to those who are with thee.”

There is no good reason for doubting that such documents did exist in Edessa, but there is less doubt that they were an absolute forgery. It was the common opinion of antiquity that Jesus wrote nothing. Such remarkable documents could not have escaped the notice of the writers before Eusebius; his successors likewise take but little notice of the matter, and when they refer to it, it is without respect. Jesus is made to refer to John’s Gospel, which was not then written. The probability is, that some Christian fabricated the documents before the time of Eusebius, with a mixture of ignorant reverence and fraud, which soon became too common.

A word likewise may be said concerning the pretended likenesses of the Saviour to be seen in Catholic countries. We hear of no marble or pictorial representations of him until after the fourth century, when it was allowed there was no authentic likeness of him. Before that time he was imagined, in strict conformity with prophecy, to have been without beauty or comeliness. Thus he was held up for

imitation before his suffering and persecuted followers. After that period we find mention of stones, coins, and paintings on which he was represented. But then the original idea of his appearance had given place to the imagination of a countenance full of beauty, glory, and majesty. And thus in the earliest paintings we find the delicate oval face, the fine thin beard, and the mild expressive eyes. Of course superstition and fraud combined to attribute great antiquity to certain pictures of him, as those on the handkerchief of St. Veronica, and in the Lateran Sanctum at Rome. In the cemetery of Callixtus was a very ancient painting of him.

Neander very justly remarks, that between the writings of the Apostles, and those attributed to the Apostolical Fathers, there is no gradual transition, but a sudden bound. The era of the first miraculous utterances of the Holy Spirit was in course followed by the free operation of human nature upon Christianity : here, as in other of its operations, Christianity was of necessity trammelled, until it could gradually work its way higher, and pierce deeper, and enlist on its side the more exalted intellectual powers of man. Neander thinks that some spurious writings were counterfeited under the names of the Companions of the Apostles, and that some of their genuine writings were adulterated by professed believers, to subserve the interests of the Judaizing party in the Church, whose main object it was to continue its hierarchy. Let the readers make all the allowances we have suggested.

As we pursue our readings in early Christian literature, under the guidance, as we hope, of maturer lessons of wisdom, and a larger knowledge of human infirmities, we are above all things impressed with the strict conformity between the facts which we have verified and the theories and expectations which appear to be most reasonable. Where man's work mingles with the work of his Maker, the infirmities of human imperfection transfer their blemishes to the operations of the Almighty as they first meet our view. We learn the wisdom which we seek for, full as much in the process of attaining it, as when we rest from the task and pursuit. And then the sweet repose of mind which rewards the conflict with error, which follows the patient search, of laborious toil, how does it differ from lethargic indifference, how infinite is its superiority above the disquietude and the annoyances of skepticism.

There is a document which is known by the name of the "Shepherd of Hermas." Paul in his Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 14.) sends his salutation to an early Christian of this name, and this document has been without sufficient evidence attributed to that friend of the Apostle. But the character of the work itself, and the kind of notices which we find of it, leave it almost if not wholly impossible to decide as to its date or author; that is, men of equal learning, candor, and judgment might disagree concerning it. The early writers who speak of it express doubts concerning it. Weighing the testimony concerning it in the best manner we are able, we should be led to dispute its alleged authorship and date, and to attribute it to another Hermas, brother of Pius, Bishop of the Church at Rome, about A. D. 150. Eusebius speaks with uncertainty concerning it, and approves of it in the instruction of those who are learning the rudiments of religion. In that light we ourselves may properly regard it, as having done service of that kind when first written. The work bears a strong resemblance in general character to Bunyan's *Prilgrim's Progress*. It is divided into three parts, the first consisting of four visions, the second of twelve commands, the third of ten similitudes. The title of the work is derived from the appearance of an angèl under the form of a shepherd to the author. As far as we know, it is the first specimen which literature ever afforded of that kind of allegory; and we might imagine it would have been read with interest by those to whom its imagery, its figures, and its whole subject-matter were new. Indeed it is far above some later examples of the same kind of composition. It is manifestly the work of one who was familiar with the Christian Scriptures. Its morality is pure and high; its philosophy is by no means bad; and there is much ingenuity displayed in some of its imagery. It probably was never used in the worship of Christian assemblies. It was originally written in Greek, but remains to us, with the bare exception of a few quotations, only in the Latin language. The Greek Fathers appear to have valued it highly: Irenæus gives it the title of "Scripture."

There are seven Epistles ascribed to Ignatius, who was Bishop of Antioch at the close of the first century, and soon after its termination suffered martyrdom. These Epistles are addressed to the Ephesians, the Magnesians, the Trallians,



the Romans, the Philadelphians, the Smyrneans, and to Polycarp. They would be but of little value, supposing them to be genuine ; but there is a want of evidence in favor of their having been written by him. In the first place, there are two sets of them, differing in length and contents ; so that one set must either have been abridged or amplified to make the other. The shorter ones are those for which some authors contend. They are said to have been written while Ignatius was upon a land journey from Antioch to Rome by order of the Emperor Trajan, to be exposed to wild beasts. There is no doubt of his martyrdom, but the Epistles do not bear out the character of a writer under his circumstances — aged, and travelling to meet an excruciating death. Besides, the most earnest advocates of their genuineness admit that they have been extensively corrupted by interpolations. We find in them passages designed to strengthen the power and rank of the priesthood and to teach the Deity of Christ, which doctrines were not heard of till more than a hundred years after the death of Ignatius. The early authors, who had occasion to mention these Epistles had any such been known to them, are perfectly silent concerning them. Indeed, besides the two sets of these seven, there are eight more Epistles ascribed to the same author, the spuriousness of which is not denied. It would appear that the name of Ignatius was common at the time, or that the bishop who bore it was in high honor with the fabricators of spurious writings. Possibly he may have written some sentences which are incorporated in the works ascribed to him. But little interest either for evidence or instruction is now attached to the question, except by the advocates and apologists of Episcopacy. Indeed we may say that the use which is made of these and of similar documents by Episcopalians, in the failure of Scripture authentications of their theory, is a fact which is calculated to convince us beyond all doubt that their theory is wholly untenable.

There is no sufficient evidence, either in historical testimony or in its own contents, that the epistle ascribed to Barnabas was written by him. Barnabas is first mentioned Acts iv. 36, as a Levite of Cyprus, and one of those who sold his land as a tribute to the common stock of the Christian community. He has been supposed, without any sufficient evidence, to have been one of the seventy disciples.

He seems to have been highly esteemed by the Apostles, and to have stood in influence and service next to St. Paul. We know that, on the conversion of St. Paul, the Christians were afraid of him who had so recently been their persecutor. Barnabas, however, stood forth as his friend, and boldly supported him then, as he likewise did afterwards, in maintaining with the great Apostle the liberty of the Gentile converts to disregard the law of Moses. Every mention that we have of Barnabas leads us to regard him as a man of a very strong mind, thoroughly imbued with the dignity and exalted spirit of Christianity. In any writing which bears his name we should therefore look for the traits of his own mind and character. Strong, clear, decided, dignified and intellectual as he was, he never could have written the weak, sophistical epistle, which we now have with his name attached to it. It is to be observed that nothing in the epistle itself would countenance the belief that he wrote it. It is not addressed to any particular community of Christians, as are the Epistles of St. Paul ; his name is not once mentioned in it. It seems to have been written by a Gentile, for no Hebraistic idioms occur in it, which could not have been the case had it been written by Barnabas, a Jew. It contains no elevated views, no evidences of the strong and deep affections which Christianity excites in a great mind ; no tender appeals, no earnest exhortations. It is a tissue of miserable allegorical interpretations and forced constructions of the Old Testament, a system of trifling which prevailed among the Jews in Alexandria. Why then has this Epistle been ascribed to Barnabas ? St. Clement of Alexandria has often quoted it, about A. D. 194 ; and he is the first who mentions it. In quoting from it he says — “ Rightly therefore says the Apostle Barnabas.” “ I need only allege the Apostolical Barnabas, one of the seventy, and fellow worker with Paul.” Yet even Clement finds fault with one of its allegories and expositions, and the most that can be inferred from his quoting it is, that he valued it as an historical testimony, though not as a perfect statement of Christian sentiments. Origen, about 230, names and quotes it, as “ the Catholic Epistle of Barnabas,” without laying stress on its authority. He is evidence therefore only of the existence and alleged authorship of the Epistle. Eusebius, however, expressly mentions it as spurious or contradicted, and it has never met with general reception among

Christians. The Epistle may have been written by another Barnabas, the name being a very common one, or the name of the Apostle may have been ignorantly or fraudulently attached to it, as we know such errors and deceptions soon became frequent. In the repeated mention which it makes of Christ, and of his religion, there is nothing contrary to the truth of our faith ; the poor character of its contents consists in its forced constructions of the Old Testament for the sake of making Christianity more acceptable to the Jews. In this respect it has some similarity to the Epistle to the Hebrews, though in other respects very inferior to it. It refers to the destruction of Jerusalem, and must therefore have been written after the year 70 ; and as Irenæus and Tertullian, writing before 150, do not mention it, we may conclude that it was not written till after that date. The English translation of the Epistle is made from two fragments, one in the original Greek, the other in a Latin version, which supply each other's defects, though both are corrupted. The Epistle contains three references to our Gospels, in which either the sense or the words are adopted. The author does not assume the name of Barnabas ; this title was probably ascribed to it first at Alexandria.

In his Epistle to the Philippians (iv. 3) Paul mentions, with the highest respect, Clement, his fellow laborer, one among those whose names are in the book of life. There is preserved an Epistle attributed to this early Christian laborer, of whom we know nothing more from the New Testament. He is spoken of by the ancient fathers as the third or fourth elder, overseer or minister of the Church of Rome. The Epistle which bears his name is every way worthy of its author as alleged. The testimony to it is as follows. Irenæus, before the year 200, says, — In the third place after the Apostles at Rome, “ Clement obtained that bishoprick, who had seen the blessed Apostles and conversed with them ; who had the preaching of the Apostles still sounding in his ears, and their traditions before his eyes. Nor he alone, for there were then still many alive who had been taught by the Apostles. In the time therefore of this Clement, when there was no small dissension among the brethren at Corinth, the Church at Rome sent a most excellent letter to the Corinthians, persuading them to peace among themselves, &c.”

Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, about A. D. 170, wrote seven letters, which are not now extant, to different churches. Eusebius quotes from one of these which was addressed to the Church of Rome, as follows — “To-day is the Lord’s day, in which we have publicly read your Epistle ; the reading of which, as well as of that formerly written from you by Clement, will be to us a constant source of instruction.”

Other testimonies might be added confirming the general voice of antiquity in favor of this Epistle. As it refers to a severe persecution of the Christians at Rome, it was probably written at the time when Domitian inflicted sufferings upon them, about A. D. 95. St. Paul’s first Epistle to the Corinthians is expressly named and quoted in it. Others of the Epistles and the Gospels are manifestly referred to by quotations of the sense or the very language. This presents a question upon which a passing word is necessary. In some of the earliest Christian writings we find quotations, not of the exact language, but of the sense of the New Testament ; and here and there, very infrequently, language is ascribed to the Saviour which we do not find in the Gospels or Epistles. The question is, Is a reference made to our Scriptures when the sense corresponds exactly and the language varies slightly in the quotations ? Or did the Christians hand down by safe tradition, through two or three generations, certain statements of the Saviour and his Apostles which are not committed to writing ? Probably both these suppositions are correct ; for the same writers often quote the Old Testament by its sense, not its language. Paul likewise says, “Remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said — It is more blessed to give than to receive.” No doubt Jesus did say so ; but his words on this and other occasions have not been recorded. This Epistle of Clement is truly Christian in its sentiments, and, though not exhibiting great profundity or elevation, gives full proof of the purity and faith of its author.

It is remarkable that only one manuscript copy of this Epistle is known to exist. The ancients always speak of it with respect ; often mention its being read in public worship. All traces of it were lost, except in quotations. In the year 1628, Cyrillus Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, sent to Charles I. of England, as a present, a manuscript on parchment, in four folios, capital letters, containing the whole Bible in Greek. It is said to have been written in Egypt, about or

before the year 550. This splendid and invaluable manuscript likewise contains the Epistle of Clement, from which our common copy was translated. It is now in the British Museum. We cannot, of course, be so certain of the verbal exactness of our copy, as we could be if we had more than one manuscript for comparison.

In the fourth century we first hear of a second Epistle from Clement to the Corinthians, which, however, obtained but little credit, though found in the Alexandrine MS. Eusebius denies its name and its antiquity. Besides this Epistle of Clement, another relic of equal authority and value is the Epistle of Polycarp, of unquestioned antiquity and of a high character. It was written by him when Bishop of Smyrna to the Church at Philippi. A part of it is extant in the original Greek, the remainder is supplied from an early Latin translation. Its author died a martyr in the first half of the second century. Our authority for the admission of this Epistle is Irenæus, who says that when he was a youth he was familiar with the person, habits, and instruction of Polycarp, who in his turn had received his Christian education from St. John. This testimony is remarkable and decisive, for Irenæus repeats it twice with great particularity. He says the remembrances of his youthful acquaintance with Polycarp lived vividly in his mind, and he had a most reverent respect for him. He then mentions this letter of his to the Philippians. Other ancient testimonies agree upon the point, and their evidence admits of no question. In this letter the majority of the books of the New Testament are quoted either by sense or language. It is every way worthy of its alleged author, displaying dignity, integrity, and faith.

In reviewing this division of our subject we feel a satisfaction in observing the accordance of facts with the expectations which an enlightened and comprehensive view of things would excite. We find that minds and pens were employed early upon the sublime and altogether novel themes which the Christian faith proffered to men. The treasured parchments which bore the record of Apostolic ministrations, and the lessons of their own wisdom and that of one who spake as never man spake, occupied a place upon which no other writings might intrude. They had a character of their own; they were revered for what they were, and for what they contained. They were pressed to the bosoms of the

hunted worshippers when the persecutors broke in upon their secret assemblies, and were surrendered only with life. Yet the successors, the contemporaries of Apostles, and even the private Christians of their times, felt that they had a word of testimony to utter, and an experience of life to disclose. Even if they were well taught in the rudiments of this world's wisdom, they must needs use unfamiliar words to declare new sentiments and duties. Visions and prayers, letters and exhortations would be the form in which they would express their feelings. As we follow down the line of ages we trace the gradual process by which the literature of the world has been christianized. It has indeed been the work of ages to set the work in progress. Yet it has steadily advanced, until biographies, and essays, and poems, and histories, to say nothing of sermons and commentaries, have shown that in the necessary commingling of divine and human wisdom, human thoughts and counsels have been transfigured by the light which has come into the world. To suppose that this illumination of thought, this sanctification of language, this christianizing of literature, should have at once followed the first preaching of our faith, so that the New Testameht should come to us attended by contemporaneous records scarcely distinguished from it in style, subject, and character, or in authenticity and purity, would be to allow the imagination to run wild at the expense of reason. Even the title of "Apostolical Fathers" has no other ground of justice than what is found in the *time* when those who bore it lived, and the *fellowship* which they were permitted to share. It is without meaning or propriety when applied to writings.

G. E. E.

### INTERESTING DOCUMENTS FROM THE SEPTENARIAN RECORDER.\*

In a manuscript recently discovered the following facts were found recorded as of ancient date.

Alpha, the philosopher, lived in one of the kingdoms of the East in the seventh century. After spending many years in the study of natural theology and all the Sacred Books of that country, he advanced the following doctrine :—

“That there are seven distinct persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Word and Spirit, Light and Truth, Wisdom and Love ; these seven are one God, the same in substance and equal in power and glory.”

The doctrine of Alpha occasioned much controversy. He became so excited and confident, that he ventured to declare a belief in his doctrine to be essential to salvation. He was abundant in his labors, and obtained many disciples, some of whom were men of reputation and influence. At the same time there was living another philosopher of great eminence in a neighboring province, whose name was Olio. To gain Olio as a proselyte was the ardent desire of Alpha. To accomplish this object he was at the expense of a long journey. On his arrival at the house of Olio, Alpha was received with much respect and hospitality. He soon made known the object of his visit ; and Olio freely consented to an interview. After Alpha had stated his proposition, and some arguments in its support, the following dialogue occurred.

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\* This article was placed by the author, the venerable Noah Worcester, in the hands of the late editors of the Examiner, some time before his death. At the time it was received from them by the present editor little interest seemed to be generally taken in the subject on which it bears, or, more truly speaking, it was one hardly tolerated, and it was still withheld. At present, it is believed, many will be gratified by its publication, not only because it is an original paper by one of our most distinguished theologians, but because there is a reviving desire and demand for argument and illustration on the most important doctrine of revealed religion. — Ed.

*Olio.* Be assured, my friend, that truth is the object of my pursuit. Your doctrine is new to me, yet it may be true; if so, I hope I shall embrace it with a ready mind. At present, however, I do not clearly understand your meaning. It may be very different from anything which now occurs to my mind. It would be improper for me to say that I believe in the truth of a proposition which I do not understand. With your consent I would inquire respecting the meaning of some of the principal words and phrases which you have adopted.

*Alpha.* I shall listen with interest to your queries; but you will bear in mind that the doctrine relates to a high and mysterious subject. We must expect mysteries in the divine nature, which are above our feeble intellects. Even in our own nature we find mysteries, which we cannot comprehend.

*O.* It is not the explanation of a *mystery* that I am about to request, but an explanation of *words*, which you have adopted to express a doctrine which you deem essential. The more important the doctrine, the greater is the importance of a clear understanding of its import.

*A.* You will proceed, and ask such questions as you shall deem proper.

*O.* What then do you mean by the phrases "the Godhead," and "One God?"

*A.* By "the Godhead" I mean the Deity, or the Divine Nature; and by the "One God" I mean One supreme intelligent Being, to the exclusion of more Gods than one.

*O.* To these explanations I cannot object. Still I need to be informed what you mean by "*seven distinct persons*."

*A.* I am aware of some difficulty in explaining this phrase as applied to the Divine nature, so as to be clearly understood; because in the common acceptance of the word persons as applied to men, seven distinct persons mean seven distinct beings. But this cannot be the meaning in the present case; because the seven distinct persons are supposed to be but one intelligent Being. Yet, as I before intimated, the doctrine is a mystery, and we cannot clearly explain what is in its own nature mysterious. However, you are aware that distinct agency, and works truly divine, are ascribed to each of the seven; and it hence appears to be a duty to believe the doctrine though it is incomprehensible.

*O.* Do you find it clearly said in any of the Sacred Books, that "there are seven distinct persons in the Godhead?"



*A.* I do not ; but distinct agency is understood as implying distinct personality and distinct agents, when to more than one, such agency and works are ascribed.

*O.* It appears then that the phrase "seven distinct persons in the Godhead" was selected by you without any example in the Sacred Books. You doubtless thought you had some meaning attached to the words. That meaning I wished to ascertain, to enable me to judge of the propriety or meaning of the doctrine. It may be that the passages denoting distinct agency do not warrant your conclusion. For the properties or attributes of a real person are frequently personified ; agency and effects are ascribed to them as though they were persons. But I would here ask, Do all Septenarians agree in their explanations of the seven distinct persons ?

*A.* They do not ; and this is deemed one evidence that the doctrine is a mystery ; and a reason for the exercise of candor one towards another, in respect to all who adopt the article as an essential doctrine, though they differ in their explanations. Some of our number are pretty confident that the seven persons are properly seven distinct beings, or agents ; and that the mystery is, how *seven* distinct agents can be but *one* God.

*O.* Admitting the doctrine to be true in this sense, the mystery might perhaps be solved or removed by saying, the phrase "one God" is of plural import, the same as one senate, or one family. But there might still be a difficulty in reconciling this view of the subject with the manner in which the one God speaks of himself. He says, "*I* am God, and there is none besides *me*" — not, "*we* are God, and there is none besides *us*."

*A.* Some Septenarians are aware of this difficulty, and to avoid it they say, that the seven distinct persons mean seven distinct offices sustained by the one God. Others again say they understand the seven persons to be seven distinct attributes : while others say seven distinct modes of divine operation. Some choose rather to say the seven persons are seven "distinctions," or seven "somewhats," avoiding a more definite explanation.

*O.* I can form some idea of God's acting in several distinct offices or relations ; of his possessing various attributes, and operating in various modes. I can also conceive that there may be several "distinctions" or "somewhats" in the divine

nature, which cannot be clearly explained or comprehended by us. But I do not see why the phrase seven PERSONS should be applied to any of these supposed septenaries, or sevens.

A. Many intelligent men, who were not Septenarians, have regarded seven as a sacred number, much used in the Sacred Books, as denoting perfection; and you will grant that all perfection is to be ascribed to God. Besides, in one of the Sacred Books we several times read of the "seven spirits of God." These surely may be regarded as so many persons, or what so much resembles persons, that we may be justified in applying to them this term. But if you are not satisfied with the explanation, which represents the seven distinct persons as so many distinct agents or beings, you see that we have several other explanations, which are admitted as Orthodox. Besides, there are many who receive the doctrine just as it is stated, believing that it might be true in *some* sense of the phrase, of which they do not venture to give any explanation. Some of these say, that, as the doctrine is a mystery, it behooves them to be silent as to any explanation. In this way of receiving the doctrine they think they express becoming humility, and unquestionable regard for divine truth. On either of the grounds which have been exhibited, you may become a regular and respected member of a Septenarian church; — and be assured, Sir, the accession of such a member will be hailed with unfeigned gratitude.

O. The grounds of admission seem indeed to be liberal, and sufficiently broad; and such is my desire to gratify you, that I shall do anything for that purpose, which I can do with a good conscience. I wish, however, for time for more reflection; and should we be spared till to-morrow, and favored with good health, I shall wish for a second interview. Perhaps I shall then need some further explanations.

#### THE SECOND CONFERENCE.

*Alpha.* I rejoice to see you this morning with a smiling countenance. I hope that by reflection you have become prepared to be my coadjutor in promoting the Septenarian cause.

*Olto.* I have thought seriously on the subject; but I need further light to satisfy me that I may safely subscribe your creed.

A. You will not, I hope, associate yourself with those who refuse their assent to any mystery, or any proposition which they do not understand. Such men there are, and they have caused much difficulty. They seem to exalt their own reason above revelation. I should regret exceedingly to find you of their opinion, or to have occasion to class you with men so destitute of humility and due respect for the oracles of God.

O. Perhaps you have misapprehended the views and the characters of the men to whom you allude. Reason is the gift of God; and it is our duty to employ it in endeavors to obtain correct views of the meaning of such language as he has used for the purposes of revelation. Such a use of reason is not preferring it above revelation. You profess to found your doctrine on revelation. Was it not by the exercise of your reason that you formed the septenarian creed? and should you not be gratified in seeing others employ their reason to ascertain whether your doctrine agrees with revelation? It surely would be far from showing respect to revelation, for me to embrace your doctrine while I do not see that it is revealed. Until I understand the doctrine, I certainly cannot know that it expresses the meaning of those revelations on which you suppose it is founded. Men should be rather commended than reproached for not assenting to what they do not understand.

A. You would not hesitate to say, you believe that God is omnipresent; and that a volition of your mind causes your pen to move as often as you write. Yet in each of these cases a mystery is involved, as great as in the declaration, that there are seven persons in the Godhead.

O. I may understand the meaning of the words in which a proposition is expressed, and yet not understand or comprehend all the facts asserted. I suppose I know what is meant by the proposition, God is omnipresent, and also what is meant when you say a volition of my mind moves my pen. Still I do not know *how* God is omnipresent, nor *how* my volition causes my pen to move. But I do *not* know what you mean by seven distinct persons in the Godhead. Until I know the meaning of the words, as used in this case, I do not know whether the doctrine involves a mystery or not. Belshazzar would not have been blamable in not understanding the words written on the wall, had they not been explained. I need a Daniel to explain what you have written. If I were now to subscribe your article, you would not know what I believe; for I do not

know what you believe, nor what ideas your words are intended to express. — I should, however, be unwilling to dissent from any doctrine, a belief of which is essential to my salvation. Can you refer me to any passages in the Sacred Books, in which it is made known, that a belief in your doctrine is essential to the salvation of the soul?

*A.* As the phrase, “seven distinct persons in the Godhead,” is not to be found in the Sacred Books, we are not to suppose that we can find an explicit statement that a belief in this doctrine is essential; yet this may be implied in the promises of life to those who receive the truth, and the threatenings of death to all who despise and reject the truths which are revealed.

*O.* If a belief in your doctrine is essential to salvation, is it not wonderful and much to be regretted, that it is not more clearly revealed?

*A.* To men of humble minds many things may appear to be clearly revealed, which are not perceived by those who will not assent to anything which to them is incomprehensible.

*O.* It would be improper for me to do anything to interrupt the harmony of our interview, by replying to such remarks and insinuations. I may, however, state another proposition, and then a query:—

“There are seven distinct *Kings* in the Divine Nature of equal dignity, power, and glory; and these seven are the One Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel.”

Before you assent to the correctness of this doctrine, would you not wish to know what I mean by the *seven*? and in what sense I use the word *Kings*?

*A.* I retract my last remark; and frankly admit that I should need an explanation of what you mean by the seven *Kings*.

*O.* In explanation I may say, that by the seven *Kings*, I mean the Father, the Word and Spirit, Truth and Light, Wisdom and Love. But I do not use the word *Kings* in its common acceptation; and that each believer in the doctrine may be permitted to explain the word for himself. I could then admit all the diversity of explanations which has been adopted by your disciples. Besides, I have thought of one mode of explanation which might be applied to either of the propositions now in view, — and which would be more clear and definite than seven “distinctions,” or seven “somewhats.”

If a man wishes to subscribe your proposition, he may say, that by the seven distinct *persons* he understands the seven distinct *letters* in GODHEAD. If he should prefer my proposition he might say, that by the seven *Kings* he understands the seven distinct *letters* in the name JEHOVAH. In a similar manner a man might be accommodated, who wishes to subscribe the doctrine of the Trinity. He may say that by the *three* persons he understands the three distinct *letters* in the divine title GOD.

A. I am unwilling to believe that you are disposed to ridicule an essential article of faith; but there seems to be something bordering on the ludicrous in your remarks and illustrations.

O. Surely I would not ridicule an essential article of faith, nor an article which is so regarded by good men. My object has been to lead you to inquire whether it be even probable, that a belief in your doctrine can be essential, if it be so difficult to understand, and will admit so great a variety of orthodox interpretations. If the first interpretation is correct, it seems to me that all the others must be false; and you will not say that a belief in falsehood is essential to salvation.

A. I am willing to be a hearer for a time, and to listen to such remarks as you may wish to make. I cannot say that the term *Kings* would not have been as pertinent in my proposition as that of *persons*. As the seven are equal in dignity, if any one of them is a King, it would seem that there must be seven distinct kings.

O. I have thought that the manner of subscribing your doctrine might be so improved as to result in real advantages.

A. I will thank you to state your views clearly.

O. Let the article be written in as many distinct forms as there are distinct explanations, that each subscriber may choose for himself, and clearly express his own views. For the six classes of believers you might vary the forms in the following manner.

1. That there are seven distinct *beings* in the Godhead, &c.
2. That God acts in seven distinct *offices*.
3. That there are seven distinct *attributes* in the Godhead.
4. That there are seven distinct *modes of operation* in the Godhead.
5. That there are seven *distinctions* in the Godhead.
6. That there are seven *somewhats* in the Godhead.

There are doubtless other explanations; but these may suffice to show how all subscribers may be accommodated, and how all appearance of duplicity in subscribing might be avoided.

*A.* I should fear that such a mode of proceeding would destroy the unity which now subsists among the Septenarians, and occasion many unhappy disputes.

*O.* But why destroy their unity? If persons may be good septenarians with all this variety of belief, in regard to their great and distinguishing doctrine, why not preserve the same unity when their real opinions are separately expressed in writing? Let it become customary thus to subscribe, and let it be regarded as a duty to exercise mutual forbearance, to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and you might find several advantages resulting from this policy. It might do very much to put a stop to the clamor about septenarian bigotry and intolerance, and occasion great accession to your numbers. For it cannot be reasonably doubted, that many are kept from joining you by conscientious scruples in regard to the propriety of subscribing an article which they do not understand, and which seems to assert what they do not really believe.

*A.* In the present form of subscribing it is not generally known how great a diversity of meaning is given to the article; and I should fear that such an innovation as you propose would not only endanger the peace of septenarians among themselves, but expose them to the reproaches of other denominations.

*O.* Though at present I do not see my way clear to subscribe your doctrine, I will frankly own that I believe my real views are nearly in accordance with yours, except so far as they relate to the propriety of using the term persons in the manner you have done, and the expediency of regarding your proposition as an essential article of faith, or rather a belief in the article as essential to salvation. If it shall be your desire, I will state some of my own views, which I think are in accordance with yours, or nearly so, that you may compare my views with your own, and be better able to judge whether I should be of any use as one of your denomination. On my part I will review the subject after we shall have separated, should I be permitted life and health for the purpose. Should I become convinced that I may safely subscribe, you may feel assured that I shall do it with cheerfulness, and not only be your disciple but your companion in labors for the conversion of others.

*A.* I indeed feel some regret that you are not now prepared to join me ; but I gratefully accept your offer to communicate more fully your own views, and the assurance you have given that you will gladly unite with me should the objections be obviated. You will not doubt that the subject has become deeply interesting to me, and that I shall greatly rejoice should I have the opportunity to acknowledge you as a Septenarian brother.

*O.* We will now walk a while, if agreeable to you, and after dinner, resume the subject.

#### THE THIRD CONFERENCE.

*Alpha.* I am now ready to hear the statement of your views.

*Olivo.* If I have not misapprehended what you have said, I agree with you in the belief, that each of the terms to which you have applied the word person denotes something of a divine nature, something of God. I also admit, that to what is denoted by each of the seven terms personal agency is ascribed in the Sacred Books, and such effects or works as none but God can produce.

In the Sacred Books it is expressly said, "God is Light," and "God is Love." With equal propriety, I believe it may be said, God is the Word, God is the Spirit, God is Truth, and God is Wisdom. We may also reverse the propositions and say, the Word is God, the Spirit is God, Truth is God, Light is God, Wisdom is God, and Love is God. For whatsoever God is, surely is God.

What I have now said accords with the language of the Sacred Books in regard to the Word. In several translations we read, "the Word was with God, and the Word was God." But in the Greek, the language in which the passage was originally written, we read, "the Word was with God, and God was the Word."

*A.* Happy, Sir, indeed I am to hear such concessions and statements from your lips. They comprehend the grounds and the substance of my doctrine. As you believe that each of the terms to which I have applied the word person denotes something of divine nature, and may be called God, and also believe that personal agency is ascribed to each, and such effects or works as none but God could produce ; I do not see how you can dissent from the Septenarian doctrine. A little more reflection will, I hope, set aside all your scruples.

*O.* That my difficulties may be more obvious to you, let us pay some attention to each of the supposed persons of the Septenary. On this point I presume we agree, that the term **FATHER** denotes a real person, a distinct intelligent Being;

*A.* To this I fully accede.

*O.* The second in order is the **WORD**. By this I understand some expression of God's mind or will. In one of the Sacred Books we have an account of the creation of the heavens and the earth. God's Word is represented as the efficient cause in the production of effects. "God *said* Let there be light, and there was light." Here light is evidently represented as the effect of God's Word, or a "God **SAID**." In other Sacred Books we often read "the Word of God," or "the Word of the Lord came" to a prophet "saying," what God was pleased to communicate. But for a more clear illustration of my views I may now say, that your doctrine is your **WORD**, an expression of your mind. Were I talking with another, I might use this language. The Word of Alpha came to me saying, "There are seven distinct persons in the Godhead." When any one is speaking of your doctrine he may say, this is the Word of Alpha; or he may say, This is Alpha. By each of these forms of speech he might mean the same thing; and for such diversified and figurative forms of speech we have examples in the Sacred Books. Whatever agency or effects may be ascribed to your Word may also be ascribed to you. So in the Sacred Books, whatever agency or effects may be ascribed to the Word of God, they are also ascribed to God. You will therefore understand what I mean when I admit that personal agency is ascribed to the Word, to the Spirit, &c. God himself is the personal agent; he acts by his Word, his Spirit, his Truth. So if I were to relate that the doctrine or Word of Alpha has done much good among mankind, it would be equivalent to saying Alpha has done much good by his Word. Yet while in this manner I might ascribe personal agency to your Word, as well as to yourself, I should hesitate to say, that Alpha and his Word are two distinct persons.

Your third person is the **SPIRIT** of God. As God is a spirit, it is difficult for me to express my ideas of *his* spirit in a manner more intelligible than by saying, it is that in God by which he speaks, operates, or produces effects. We may say that the spirit is the operating energy of God. In the Sacred Books the Breath of God and the Spirit of God often mean



the same thing. In the original, the same word is used for both. It is by the energy of our breath that we speak; and so God speaks by his spirit or breath. Sometimes the *Spirit* of God and the *Hand* of God, the *Arm* of God, and the *Finger* of God are used as synonymous. When God said, "Let there be light," it was by his Spirit or Breath that he spoke or operated; and very often the Word and the Spirit mean the same thing, or mutually imply each other. The effects which a man produces by his speech may be ascribed to his breath or his spirit, to his word, or to himself. The spirit of God is spoken of as standing in the same relation to God, as the spirit of man does to the man. I mentioned the fact, that we read in the Sacred Books, "the Word of God came" to one or another of the prophets, "saying." In later Sacred Books, this is explained by saying, "Holy men of God spake as they were *moved* by the Holy Ghost." The Word of God *came* to the prophets, as they were *moved* by the Holy Spirit to speak or write. What they spoke or wrote was what the spirit suggested, or what God suggested by his spirit. We may then further remark in respect to your doctrine or Word. It was produced by your spirit or mind. According to the forms of speech used in the Sacred Books, we may ascribe your Word, with all its operations and effects, to Alpha, or to the Spirit of Alpha. May we hence say, there are three distinct persons in Alpha?

TRUTH stands as your fourth person in the Divine Nature. Jehovah is a God of truth, and truth may denote the perfect moral rectitude of the divine character, and of all his operations and revelations. Truth perhaps is less frequently personified than the Word and the Spirit; yet it may not be less worthy of the dignity of a distinct person. The Word is either a Word of power, a Word of command, or a Word of revelation. When God said "let there be light," it was a Word of power, a creative Word. But in the precepts and revelations of God, Truth is the soul of the Word, and it is what renders the Word peculiarly worthy of obedience and respect. The word of man is often unjust, untrue, deceptive, and of evil tendency. The Word of God is the Truth, as opposed to all injustice, falsehood, deception, and everything of pernicious tendency. In one book, which has by many been deemed sacred, the Truth is strongly personified and extolled. "As for Truth it endureth, and is always strong, it

liveth and conquereth forevermore. Neither in her judgment is any unrighteousness; and she is the strength, kingdom, power, and majesty of all ages.\*

Your fifth divine person is **LIGHT**. I have already mentioned that in the Sacred Books, it is said, "God is light." This I understand as denoting his perfection in knowledge, truth, and righteousness, with a perfect exemption from all darkness, whether natural or moral. "With him is no darkness, at all;" and he sees the end from the beginning. All things are naked and open to his view; and he is the Father of lights, both natural and moral. "Whatsoever maketh manifest is light." Revealed Truth, the Word of God, brings life and immortality to light; it shows the path of life, and what we must do to be saved. "In it was life, and the life was the light of men." Had there been no Word of truth or revelation from God, to illuminate the world, we should have been in total darkness as to the forgiving love of God, and the condition of men beyond the grave. Though God himself is the original **SUN** and **LIGHT** of the universe; yet as "the Father of lights" he has provided various means and mediums of light both in the natural and moral world. He gave the natural sun, the moon, and the stars, to illuminate the natural world; and he gave his beloved Messiah and his Apostles to illuminate the moral world.

We come now to **WISDOM**, as your sixth divine person. When I consider how strongly Wisdom was personified by one of the wisest of men, I cannot wonder that many have supposed that he was speaking of a real person. Her price is above rubies. She is represented as saying "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice. I love them that love me; and those that seek me early shall find me." Much more might be quoted. To wisdom the most important effects and works are ascribed.

**LOVE** is the seventh of your supposed persons in the God-head. "God is Love," and love is the source of every good and perfect gift. It was in love that God sent his Son to be the Saviour of the world. No property or perfection of the one God is more capable or more worthy of personification than his Love. When love in men is personified, how amiable and how important does her character appear! Without love we

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\* I. Esdras, iv. 38-40.

are nothing, as to moral excellency. Without love God would be nothing to us, nothing on account of which he would be worthy of our esteem. All the good God ever has done, or will do, may be ascribed to Love as its source.

Now, on the supposition, that your doctrine or your Word is the Truth, and the genuine fruit of your Spirit, your Light, your Wisdom, and your Love, what is the result? It may be ascribed to you, or to your Spirit, your Light, your Wisdom, or your Love. In like manner we may speak of all the good effects of your Word. These effects may be ascribed to *you*, to your *Word*, your *Spirit*, your *Truth*, your *Light*, your *Wisdom*, or your *Love*. To whichever of the seven they may be ascribed, you have the honor of producing those effects. Suppose them to be ascribed by one man to your *Word*, by another to your *Wisdom*, by another to your *Love*; in either case you would feel as much honored, as if the effects had been ascribed to ALPHA. May we, therefore, say, that you are not one person but seven persons,—that there are seven persons in one man? If not, you may see why I hesitate to subscribe your creed.

When we use a common word in an unknown sense, the minds of men are either misled or confused. You do not believe that, in the common acceptation of the word person, there are seven distinct persons in the Godhead; yet probably thousands have supposed such to be your meaning, and thus have adopted the doctrine. Others know not what to think, and some explain in one way and some in another. If the various explanations are admissible, there is a septenary of persons in every intelligent and good man, or in any man who acts in seven distinct offices, or has seven distinct attributes of character, or seven modes of operation. You say that the doctrine is a mystery; but this cannot be known to be true, so long as we are ignorant of the meaning of the word "persons." I see no mystery in the doctrine, but what results from misapplying the word "persons." The attributes of men may be personified, as well as the attributes of God, and they are so in the Sacred Books.

A. Some of your ideas are as new to me as ever my views were to you. I have heard you with patience, and not without some share of pleasure. I hope to reflect on what you have said with candor, and to judge impartially. But I need time for reflection, and our interview must soon close, that I may be

on my way towards home. I wish, however, before I take my leave, to know more distinctly your present views of the Messiah, the Envoy Extraordinary from Heaven to our sinful race. In my estimation, correct views of his character are of great importance. It would be a pleasure to me to know that on that subject your views are in accordance with mine.

O. I cordially acquiesce in the title which you have given to the Messiah, the Son of the living God ; for I verily regard him as the Envoy Extraordinary from God to a guilty world. I have aimed to form my estimates of his character from his testimony concerning himself and God's testimony respecting him, rather than from the inferences and assertions of party theologians of any sect. Two such witnesses as God and his Son are sufficient to establish the most important facts, and much to be preferred to a thousand witnesses from among men uninspired, and fallible, like myself.

I may then say, that I regard the Messiah as a being in whom God dwelt, and with whom God was united in an extraordinary manner ; a being in whom the Father dwelt by all the fulness denoted by what you have denominated the other six persons of the Godhead. With the Father dwelling in him, the Messiah had the Word and the Spirit, not by measure, — the Truth and Light of God, and his Wisdom and Love, to direct and enable him to speak, and to do, whatever was desirable or pleasing to God. As "in the beginning," or at the creation of the heavens and the earth, "the Word was with God ;" so when God was introducing the gospel dispensation, or the kingdom of heaven among men, his Word was caused to "tabernacle in flesh," in the person of the Messiah, both as the Word of divine power, and the Word of revelation or divine truth. As in the beginning God said, "Let there be light, and there was light ;" so the same power was manifested when Jesus said to a man, who had been dead four days, "Lazarus come forth ;" and forth he immediately came. With the same omnipotent Word he called to life the widow's son, while on the bier in the way to the grave. Healing was also granted to vast multitudes ; the dumb were enabled to speak, the deaf to hear, and the blind to see. Even the wind and the sea obeyed his voice ; "Peace, be still, and there was a great calm." These displays of the Word, as the Word of divine power, were made to evince the divine mission of the Messiah, and to prepare to receive from the same lips the Word of

revealed truth, as of divine authority. The miracles of Christ and his precepts and revelations were as truly the works of God and the truths of God, as they could have been, had the miracles been effected and the truths uttered by an audible voice from heaven, without the medium of the Messiah. According to Christ's own words the Father who dwelt in him did the works, and taught him what he should speak.

I agree with you that correct views of the Messiah are highly important. But correct views of his natural dignity are to us of less importance than correct views of his moral character and moral dignity. The moral attributes of his character are what we are required to love and imitate. We are not required to be like him as to his natural dignity, — nor are we required to imitate anything in him that was miraculous ; but we are required to let the same mind be in us which was in him ; to learn of him who was meek and lowly of heart, to take up the cross and follow him in the path of self-denying humility and benevolence. He was the image of the invisible God ; and God was in him reconciling the world to himself. As the Messiah was the medium of divine manifestation of the word of saving truth ; so "his name is called **THE WORD OF GOD.**" Thus he said to Pilate, "To this end I was born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." This witness he bore by his preaching, and by his obedience unto death. Wherefore God hath highly exalted him, as a prince and a Saviour, and the Judge of the living and the dead.

*A.* You have said many things which I regard as very true and important ; but you have avoided the points of controversy and confined yourself very much to such representations as are given in the Sacred Books.

*O.* The Sacred Books are the sources of my information in regard to the character of the Messiah ; and the more careful we are to pay a due regard to what they teach, the less likely we shall be to fall out by the way, and the more likely to avoid error, and secure true peace of mind.

*A.* In this I think you are right ; and let us both henceforth study the things which tend to peace of mind, and peace one with another.

Thus closed the interviews between Alpha and Olio.

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The foregoing Documents have been carefully transcribed for Oromanio by his friend —

THEOPHILUS.

The Transcriber takes the liberty to subjoin the following Notes.

1. Tradition says, that Alpha returned home with favorable impressions in regard to the character of Olio, and from that time forbore to urge a belief in his Septenarian doctrine as essential to salvation. He was also observed to be less self-confident and more candid than he had previously been for several years. He became satisfied that a good man might dissent from his creed.

2. It is said, that in the country where Alpha resided there was a sect of people who were then called Trinitarians, and that their reasonings in support of the doctrine that there are three distinct persons in the one God, led him to inquire whether there were not a still greater number of Divine persons in the Godhead than three. On inquiry he became satisfied, that if the Word of God and the Spirit of God denoted distinct persons, it might be so with Truth and Light, Wisdom and Love. He therefore took the liberty to assert the doctrine of seven distinct persons in the Godhead. By the Trinitarians he had been much opposed and reproached as a heretic and innovator. It is supposed that he was not a little gratified to find that the reasonings of Olio were not more against his own doctrine than against that of the Trinitarians. The reasonings and explanations of Olio excited in his mind some doubt whether the One God is really more than one person. He, however, retained the belief that if God is more than one person, seven is the number which should be admitted; because we do read of "the seven spirits of God," but not of the three spirits of God.

3. One idea Olio omitted to urge in his intercourse with Alpha, which might have been presented by him with propriety and force. Of the seven supposed Divine persons in one God, only one of them is usually represented as of the masculine gender. The FATHER is uniformly so represented by the corresponding pronouns *he* and *him*.

TRUTH, WISDOM, and LOVE, when fully personified, are represented as of the feminine gender, by the pronouns, *she* and *her*. The WORD, and the SPIRIT, are usually represented as of the neuter gender, by the pronoun *it*. In some transla-

tions, when the Word is strongly personified, it has been allowed the pronouns *he* and *him*. The propriety of this, however, has been doubted; and in some languages the name answering to *Word* is of the feminine gender, and has the pronouns corresponding with *she* and *her*. It is also to be observed, that when the SPIRIT is personified by another name, such as Paraclete, Comforter or Monitor, it is allowed pronouns in the masculine gender. But far more common it is in the Sacred Books to exhibit both the Word and the Spirit as of the neuter gender. The same may be said of Truth and Light, Wisdom and Love. It may now be asked, would such have been the facts, had the inspired writers regarded the Word and Spirit, Truth and Light, Wisdom and Love as distinct persons, and equal with the Father? What can be more unphilosophical than the hypotheses of seven distinct persons of different genders in one intelligent Being? Who would not be shocked should he see and hear *she* and *it* used as pronouns for the Holy One of Israel, the living God? The hypothesis, that God is seven, or even three distinct persons of different genders, seems to be something less to be venerated than a *mystery in the divine nature*; but the doctrine that God is one person only, although his attributes are occasionally personified, may yet dispel the gloom and give us day for night.

N. W.

## BOOKS FOR THE PEOPLE.

"TALES for the People" is an English title of a series of volumes, that has been adopted in this country in the reprint of the same books here, but which it is more significant of society and of public opinion in Britain than in America. Every person who has heard or read anything of English society knows that the great nobility, professional men generally, retired persons of fortune, artists of any distinction, those who grace the pension list, in short, all well-educated persons, are not of the people; though if one has not been an actual eye-witness of the separateness that exists between the divided classes, and which is constantly felt and acknowledged in all their intercourse; it is not easy in this republican country to apprehend its whole meaning and effect.

Those who write for the people of England appreciate this matter justly; they understand the necessities and the improveableness of those they write for, and supply them with instruction in this form, as those who have never had much use of books; and who, of course, have never been accustomed to derive their notions of truth and duty from the printed page. The author therefore is supposed to render a service to the long-neglected, when he sends from the press a book especially adapted to the wants of the people — the wants of a palpable ignorance, which the more favored have just come to the conclusion, that it is their duty to enlighten, and for the future to prevent. In England this is doing, and has of late years been done, under influence of praiseworthy motives, and in many instances with admirable skill. This service of the privileged to the people is treated by some with contempt and opposition. Knowledge, say some, will be dangerous to them; it will make them discontented with their condition, and unfit them for its indispensable duties. Ignorance, say others, is more dangerous to the state than any effect of knowledge. Ignorance delivers moral beings to the mastery of animal nature; it seeks gratifications of the moment, and is reckless of consequences; it leaves men a prey to the designing, and takes from them all defences against misfortune, and all supports when they cannot escape from it. Ignorance cannot discriminate between benefactors and betrayers, and cannot do justice to good govern-



ment; nor is it likely to preserve the peace of society by cheerful concurrence in its wisest regulations. Teach men their duties, or how will they know them? Teach them the laws of nature, and the Providence of God, and then they will fall willingly under obedience to those laws, as they are artificially modified by several causes. The people belong to a harmonious system of society, and they will feel their own dignity and responsibility, when they understand their proper relations, their highest interests, and their natural destiny;

“They are the best, who best know why.”

Reasoners of this class hold, that there should be no monopoly in knowledge. They maintain, that he, who finds in it the dearest possession he enjoys, owes the communication of this greatest of blessings, so far as he may dispense it, to all within reach of his influence; to all that stand in need of it; — to them whose eyes are dimmed, whose ears are dull of hearing, whose hearts have waxed gross for want of that instruction that quickens every sense, and refines every desire.

More than forty years ago, when the wise in England, not looking beyond the day, saw nothing but revolution and destruction, in the new ideas held up to all Europe by rash innovators — so they deemed them — who had not separated good from evil in their speculations and their deeds, it seemed good to the best friends of old institutions to keep the people on their side by giving them monitory books. Then, first, tracts and tales for the people were made cheap and popular; for, notwithstanding what Bunyan and Defoe had written long before, nothing like the same agency was, until that time, employed in the dissemination of books of a popular character. Whether one be whig or tory, aristocrat or democrat, any person of just taste and sound morals must admire — for some of them are not quite forgotten — many of Hannah More's cheap tracts, which were the first of the proper people's books, not purely devotional, published in England.\* Her politics are

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\* Even devotional books often needed the seasoning of superstition and falsehood to render them popular. The publisher of Drelincourt on Death procured Defoe to prefix to it the story of Mrs. Veal's ghost, that appeared to Mrs. Somebody else, to make the book acceptable to vulgar readers.

not ours; her religion has in it more *institutionism*, more dogmatism than ours; but the virtues she inculcates, apart from their nationality, are strikingly commended and enforced in their universal features by her representations of them. The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain; the family that chose rather "to live by their wits than their work;" The Adventurer in the Lottery, and other examples of moral good and evil are sketched with a master hand, most graphically and impressively.

Not long after Mrs. More had employed two presses for ten months in furnishing tales for the people of England, Miss Edgeworth wrote her *Popular Tales*, full of practical wisdom, free from the least party spirit, and as useful to-day as ever they were; and not only useful in England, but wherever the English language is read. If Mrs. More's and Miss Edgeworth's writings describe a state of society different from ours, so much the better for the readers of them in this country; they may afford us new and broader views of human life, give scope in our hearts for larger charity than exhibitions of character drawn wholly from ourselves, and make us thankful for the peculiar advantages of our own social state. We know no tales, new or old, more instructive than *To-morrow*, *Murad the Unlucky*, *Out of Debt*, *out of Danger*. Procrastination and heedlessness are as fatal to the prosperity of all men in all countries as Basil and Murad found them to be; and self-justification is ever as deceptive to those who charge fate with the consequences of folly.

In our day we know no person more happy in continuing the good work begun at the end of the last century than Mary Howitt — that high-minded woman, so poetically, yet so rationally constituted; so spiritual, yet so little romantic; so adorned with piety and pure art; so gifted by God, and so cultivated by self-pains. In her rare combination of power she is able to please the refined by her elegance, and the ordinary by her simplicity, and by her sympathy with all that is natural and human to bind both in one community of feeling, bringing her taste, her fine imagination and affections to the service of poor people and little children. She seems like one of those beautiful flowers that spring up for the lofty and the low alike, sending forth their sweet odor, without favor or partiality.

To benefit the objects of popular education demands, in

truth, not only philanthropy but genius. Men, our fellow beings — superiors or inferiors — to be served effectually, must be understood. What a portion are, in common with the whole brotherhood of humanity, must be known and felt by their benefactors ; and what they are not, through social evils, or their own ignorance, must be equally known and appreciated, before such evils can be removed, or ignorance be enlightened. Not to compare the necessities of our own people, through insufficiency of elementary teaching, with those of Europe ; nor to assume that there exists among us, distinctively from their fellow citizens, any class that are *the people* by inferiority to others, it must be admitted that there are in our social system the more and the less favored, and that the former are under obligations of generosity and brotherly kindness for the intellectual culture and moral improvement of the latter. Who is a better friend of a man than he, who purifies and furnishes his mind ? and who is a greater benefactor of the state than he, who develops and exalts the intelligence and the moral principles of a people ? Who is sufficient for these things but he, who to large comprehensiveness adds equal energy, love, and zeal in the cause ? Thousands contribute to this work without knowing that they do so, or without any fixed purpose to such end. Great minds teach great lessons, both in action and speculation. Literature made up especially for ignorance is not of the best kind generally for ignorance, and is indeed of very little use, unless it lead the ignorant, by obvious initiation, to the literature, as well as the virtue, that is universal.

Writers of great talent never disregard nor despise the humble, and they address themselves as much to them as to any, provided they have been left free of bad influence to apprehend the wisdom that “crieth in the streets,” and demands nothing but an unperverted condition of the soul to make itself intelligible. Great minds, except in the worst periods of human history, have ever pleaded for the best interests of men, pitied the lowest misery, and celebrated the obscurest virtue. How cordially does the delightful Goldsmith commend the Disabled Soldier, and how truly does he remark, that “one half the world knows not how the other half lives.” What incalculable good is done to the degraded and neglected by the man of genius, who interests the fortunate in their behalf ! How full of sympathy and of veneration for humble virtue is Shakspeare ; how much of integrity, unfailing love, constant duty, and self-

sacrifice is exhibited in the single example of old Adam in *As you Like it*! Let any person of any vocation study this example, and will he not set before himself a model good for imitation in every station of man or woman? The artist, who created, or made permanent from fact, this character of unchangeable goodness, overlooked no manifestation of virtue in a fellow-being—then to all men our great dramatic poet is a teacher.

And not only does the poet, but the painter, teach all people. When Hogarth, whom Charles Lamb likens to Shakspeare in the grand features of his genius, addressed himself to the moral sense of the mechanical and laborious, he was as great as when he admonished the man of wealth and pleasure. When he painted out the different courses of the Industrious and the Idle Apprentice, he was not less an artist, not less an eloquent and profound moralist, than when he traced the spoiled child of fortune from the beginning to the end of his career; from the first pursuit of his pleasant vices to their last retribution; from the hour when he launched him upon the summer sea of his joyous existence, to that when he left him a melancholy wreck, abandoned of riches, of friends, and of reason—self-deprived of all. How do Scott and Crabbe make bare the human heart, when, turning from “rich men’s palaces” to “poor men’s cottages,” they “range with humble livers,” and with their mighty power set before us the untaught, the tempted, the tried, the wrong-suffering in all the attributes of elevated humanity! If persons in the condition of life that supplied these subjects could see them in the page of power, why should they not profit of their example?

It has been remarked that men of genius are not only teachers but benefactors of those whose virtues they celebrate. Wilkie, like Hogarth, mirrored the pleasures and pains, the mirth and the misery of the poor. His well-known print, *The Distraint for Rent*, is supposed to have checked the hand of extortion, and many times to have saved the little all of penury. Sir Samuel Romilly believed that the poetry of Crabbe had done much to interest the rich in behalf of the poor in England. Till he told them, with all the “terrible sagacity,” sincerity, and pathos, fitting such a theme, the want and woe that surrounded them everywhere, they did not so much as know that they existed; and the truthful muse has not vainly demanded of them to exert themselves in mitigating vice and distress, so far as the extension of knowledge may help

them. For the people of England to become acquainted with poets and painters who have vindicated and redressed them, is an acknowledgment in perpetuity of personal benefits ; for Americans of any class to be introduced to the same goodly fellowship is only taking their share of the patrimony of the race.

In this country no obstruction to the reception of useful truth hinders the improvement of any class of persons, unless some neglect of the education provided for all, some substitution of bad for good in books most freely afforded to the young, some influence of low counsel against just taste, perverts the natural appetite for the best things to preference of the worst. No order of people among us takes a place of fixed inferiority. The poorest parent in the United States is not presumptuous in hoping that his child may enjoy the consideration that is due to cultivated intellect and moral worth, so that he be fairly entitled to it. To secure this true value of his own soul to every member of society, is the great enterprise of every philanthropist ; and the more practical he may be, the more anxiously does he inquire how his fellow men, and especially the young, the unformed, and they of the coming ages, are to be elevated to the best moral condition, and the enjoyment of it. Certain habits of mind appear to us to afford the best supports to virtue, and the purest sources of pleasure. If the affections are the first and most permanent sources of our happiness, it does not follow that the quality and measure of that happiness are not essentially exalted by the intrinsic nature of those objects upon which a moral being places his affection. An infant loves one kind mother as well as he would love another equally kind ; but a man's love for his mother must be modified by the value of her counsels, the treasures of her intellect, the beauty of her moral nature. The better, wiser, and more amiable she is, the more does she dignify, and sanctify the love with which she is regarded. Just so with objects of purely intellectual taste. If the mind be fed upon what is poor and mean in its own nature, it soon comes to be satisfied with what is poor and mean. But if the relish for better aliment has been acquired from such aliment, the appetite grows by what it feeds on. The whole character of conscious existence borrows its highest self-esteem from the best objects of human contemplation and love ; and all the sentiments and enjoyments of a nature determined to such objects will be in

harmony with impulses thence derived, and pursuits directed to the best ends of man's being.

The direct instruments to such a result for a people, or an individual, besides all casual influences, all public institutions, are books—including "the folio of four pages" among them. All ages and countries thus become tributary to our age and to us. Books that are reprinted from abroad, and those that originate at home alike minister to our necessities. The most beautiful commerce of the nations is that which interchanges science and wisdom,—issue whence they may. The truth that is taught on one side of the Atlantic must be equally effective on the other. By means of the record of letters, the wisdom of Socrates, who taught in the streets of Athens more than two thousand years ago, so much of it as has come down to our time, is as salutary to us as it was to his contemporaries. As much then of the contributions of all ages, and of all countries, as may enlighten all men, it is desirable should be obtainable by all. For ourselves it is not only beneficial that we inherit, and import literature, but also that we create it. The talent of every nation possesses a power of its own for its own; and there belongs to it an office of instruction fitted to the social circumstances of those to whom its services are primarily due. We need books that may admonish us with power; that shall describe our tendencies with a warning voice; that shall set forth truly our besetting sins, and lead us from the ways we ought to shun, right onward to the higher virtues of any people.

Literature has never done its perfect work, and yet it has done so much as to show how much more it may do. What is good literature but the iteration of all human experience; an exposition of the laws of nature; an utterance of revelations from the source of truth; the sage teaching of hoary antiquity, and the earnest pleadings of prospective wisdom? If there ever is to be a new birth for man, if there is a principle of regeneration for society, the renewing of light to mankind was announced when printing was invented; and they are the "twice-born," who having received the natural life cherish in themselves that good seed which the press disseminates all over the rational world. We would not undervalue the grand proclamation of truth and reform that was first announced in Palestine eighteen centuries ago, but we regard the press to be the chief oracle for the dictation of that truth. Through

its agency principally must we learn what faith in the gospel is. Through its transmissions alone can we go "far back in the ages," to learn the corruptions of doctrine, and how to return to its purity. If every man receives the inheritance of eternal truth through time; if the productions of many generations are valuable to all that succeed, who is to be excluded from the best things, that are given to all, so that they be fitly distributed? In such view of the worth and the uses of literature it has never had free course among men. The multiplication of books does not determine the reception, and right use of them. There must be preparation in the mind. The sentiment of preference for that which is in harmony with the higher nature, over the exclusive enjoyment of that which is external and sensual, must precede the refined and moral use of books.

"Tell me what company you keep, and I will tell you who you are," is a common saying. There may be added to it, says Miss Edgeworth, "Tell me also what books you have read, and I shall know what you are." The books that we read in the love of them, — that are "inwardly digested," are indeed disposing causes to make us what we are. But books, not being so read, are in efficacy like the banquet made by a Roman emperor for guests he intended to deride. The viands were painted wood, and the wine was colored water; — there was no aliment in the one, nor flavor in the other. As malice in the mock feast transformed good things to fiction and famine, so does besotted ignorance change the soul's refection to a thing of mere seeming.

"Who reads, and to his reading brings not  
A spirit and judgment equal or superior,

Uncertain and unsettled yet remains;  
Deep versed in books, but shallow in himself,  
Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys,  
And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge,  
As children gather pebbles on the shore."

We have spent a large portion of our life, where a small measure of knowledge is general; where every native-born man, woman, and child can read well enough for purposes of mere convenience; and in our own unromantic town of New England was, what was called in former days a Social Library. By the purchase of a share at small cost, and the annual pay-

ment of a fee, allotted in the aggregate to the purchase of new books, any person in the town might have the use of this library. A share pertaining to the head of a family, of course, entitled all the family to participation of it. In our library we found no novels, but the few best known at the present time by tradition, those of Richardson and Fielding — the latter, surely, not commendable for their morality. But there were Shakspeare, and the Universal History, and the American Encyclopedia, printed by Dobson of Philadelphia, and books of Letters, Mrs. Rowe's and Lady Rachel Russell's, and many of the English Essayists and Poets. From that collection we became acquainted with Dr. Johnson as intimately as if we had lived in Bolt Court, and had taken tea once a week with him and Anna Williams. From it we took the Spectator, and the Lives of the Poets, and Pope's Homer, and (we are not a Master of Arts) Mrs. Chapone's Letters to Young Ladies. She directed us in a course of study, and how to complete a good education. Among the saints enshrined on those shelves, as we have said, was Lady Russell, that noble Christian matron of the second Charles's days. Can heroine of fiction ever seem to us so heroic as she? Can faithfulness unto death, fortitude, and piety, ever appear so truly sublime in poet's page, as her unpretending life and words of truth? Not the half, nor the tenth part of the uses of that library to us, and ours, can be told here. But of how much use was it to every body else? Of just as much as they knew how to make of it. It is an old story, that when Corinth was taken by the Romans, and the soldiers laid rude hands on pictures of priceless value, they were told by men in authority that if they injured they should pay for them. Some such value untaught persons attach to books, and they can as well appreciate their value and uses, as the Roman soldiers could judge of the worth of Corinthian art. For the most part our library was so estimated, except that compensation for injury was not demanded, and in the course of time the books were lost, or torn up, without having fulfilled the thousandth part of their possible utility. This is the history of many a small library; but it does not prove that such a library may not be a great blessing to the community it was intended to serve. It only shows that before books can be turned to the best account, people must reverence literature, must seek their own improvement by means of it, must know how to make it available to that end.



Can books ever be serviceable to any persons, but those who live at ease ; those, whose circumstances enable them to command leisure for reading and meditation ? In our country generally every seventh day is set apart from common occupations. On that day the sound of the hammer and the clatter of machinery disturb not ; the thousand wheels of commerce cease from their rumbling ; traffic stops its exchanges ; and toil rests from its burdens. That day is not only one of worship and relaxation, but it may be made one of self-discipline ; indeed, if it be not so employed, it becomes a season of frivolous amusement, or of weary idleness. Whether the Sunday shall become a season of improvement to all persons must depend partly on the will to make it such, and partly on means to do so, and intelligence to profit by them. Sunday, then, one seventh of every person's time, with some small deduction for works of necessity and mercy, that none may utterly fail in cherishing and advancing the moral nature, is the allotted season for refreshing and cultivating the better part, the inner man.

It would be a sad sort of statistics that should declare how few turn this mortal life to its best moral use, and how many live only for time and sense, with scarcely any consciousness or acknowledgment of the faculties that dwindle, and almost perish within them. The most favorable conclusion that can be formed in respect of what men are, in comparison of what they might be, declares that there is much to be done to make them what they are not. Notwithstanding the immense quantity of books, good, bad, and indifferent, that issue daily from the press, and wing their way in all directions over our land, we hold that the moral efficacy of books is very small among us.

It cannot be denied of any community, that, however well instructed some of its members are, such must properly be called the "enlightened few ;" for the rest, though not given over to all ignorance and superstition, do not often much recreate or inform themselves with books. That there is a reading public we rejoice to admit, but it is small in comparison of that public which never reads — with any design, genuine relish, or practical improvement. It is our fortune — our lot being cast in the common path of life — rarely to meet with persons who enjoy books in the discriminating love of them. It has been

said that there are two great interests in human life, — “the interest of events, and the interest of ideas.” The former chiefly engrosses mankind. The interest of ideas is the greater, but it does not exclude the interest of events. It does not make the reflecting man a dreamer in the midst of realities, but rather enables him to ascertain the relative importance of external things, and to fix the true value upon every object of human desire or pursuit. A book, then, is the proper aid and minister to the rational and moral nature of a man ; is not only his entertainer, but his counsellor ; not only addresses his imagination, but enlightens his conscience — if it be good for anything. A good book often teaches without an avowed moral. A book that exhibits character, which evolves great principles, either in narrative or speculation, not only increases the stores of intellect but the power of it. It conduces to that habit of thought which ripens the fruits of study, subordinating the love of excitement to the self-moving, self-sufficing enjoyments of a well furnished mind.

Did any society of *common people* — for we maintain that the professional class, and those of good fortune, if they will, are favored classes, in respect to opportunities of intellectual culture and enjoyment — did the more humble and less favored, in any considerable numbers, ever find in knowledge, in principles, in ideas, a compensation for the privations of a hard condition ? If some solitary individual has relieved the fatigue of the last or the anvil by midnight studies, has he done aught but alienate himself from his proper equals, and thus narrowed his heart and stifled his sympathies while he was storing his head ? It is believed upon satisfactory evidence, that the very poorest people, in some situations, have been elevated by enlarged intelligence, without design or hope of changing their employments or bettering their fortunes ; and that such enjoyed every attainment they made, and every beautiful thought afforded by self-culture, as much as the most prosperous or eminent of men.

The constitution of society inseparable from civilization, so it seems to us, depends upon gradation, — the higher order being determined by fitness for its own place — by ability honorably sustained and justly conceded. These are the men who think for others, as well as for themselves, in those great concerns upon which others have no means of judging independently ; who legislate for the whole ; who teach or defend

their fellow men. To this order belong all who adorn society by a pure but virtuous luxury ; who "public structures raise or who design," and who beautify the dwellings of the refined and the tasteful by the works of art. All these employ the *mind* chiefly for the best interest of the whole community. The callings and the welfare of other men are in perfect harmony with the services and the eminence of these ; and all may subsist together in cordial agreement, severally pursuing the vocations that collectively build up the edifice of well-ordered society. The toil of the hand, not senseless, unreasoning toil, but intelligent labor for the common benefit, must be the lot of the greater part of mankind. Those who till the ground and gather in the harvest, who erect our dwellings, and perform all those works of the artisan, by which the whole machinery of life is kept in motion, are indispensable to the very existence of society. Thence follows the question, whether one and all of this portion of the community, — from which, in our country, the first order is perpetually renovated, and ever must be in a republic, — are not entitled to every possible means of improving themselves. They may indeed have such means, if they desire them, — who does, or can hinder them ?

We return to a question not yet answered, whether any but a few persons, in the multiform structure of civilization, have in any country enjoyed more than very circumscribed privileges of cultivation. Facts only throw light upon this inquiry. Those, who read the memoirs of Franklin and Burns, pronounce both to be extraordinary men, but not miracles ; and no one traces them to childhood, who believes in formation of character, but may discern social, literary, and monitory influences, that, aiding nature, made these distinguished persons what they were, and what many others — their friends and associates — with entire exception of their genius, also were. The manner in which Burns and Franklin were educated, followed out upon others, placed as they were among agricultural or mechanical people, must, almost of necessity, develop intellectual and moral power.

In order to educate a people to the salutary reception of books intended for ripe age, children must be rationally dealt with. The peculiar genius of a child may determine the use he makes of opportunity, but every grade of mind demands that which assists endeavor. The education of Burns belongs to the history of his country. Dr. Currie, his best biographer,

goes into some detail of the condition and character of the Scottish peasantry at different periods. "The influence of the school establishment," he remarks, "on the peasantry of the country, seems to have decided, by experience, a question of legislation of the utmost importance, — whether a system of education for the poor be favorable to morals and good government. In the year 1698, Fletcher of Saltoun, a member of the Scottish parliament, declared as follows: 'There are at this day in Scotland two hundred thousand \* people begging from door to door; and though the number of them be double by occasion of present distress [a famine then prevailing], yet in all times there have been one hundred thousand of these vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or subjection to the laws of the land, or even to those of God and nature.' " Fletcher goes on to expatiate on the licentiousness and misery of this neglected class of people. And what did he suggest as the cure for both? " 'This high-minded statesman,' continues Currie, "of whom it was said by a contemporary, 'that he would lose his life readily to save his country, but would not do a base thing to serve it,' thought the evil so great that he proposed as a remedy the revival of domestic slavery, according to his adored republics in the classic ages! A better remedy has been found, which in the silent lapse of a century has proved successful." This better remedy was a statute of the Scottish parliament (1696), a noble legacy to their country, which provided schools for all the children of the people, and which in its practical operation became so corrective that in 1800 Dr. Currie affirmed, not without authority it is presumed, that there was "no country of Europe, in which, in proportion to its population, so small a number of persons falls under the prosecution of the criminal law as in Scotland."

The mere negative fact, that but a small number of persons in a country come under prosecution for crimes, except it be related in contrast to the former disorderliness and barbarism of that people, does not prove an elevated national character. But if it can be proved that what is not against us is for us; that the absence of crime is the efficacy of virtue; and that this virtue is founded in moral principles widely diffused and faithfully cherished; then we have made out our assumption, that

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\* This number is probably over-stated, the whole population of Scotland at that time being estimated at about 1,000,000.

national virtue is the growth of express provisions, carefully devised, guarded, and maintained.

Among a people whose better nature was provided for by the beneficence of the laws, Burns was nurtured; and what were the books put into the hands of this poor peasant boy? He says he took delight in the *Vision of Mirza*, and in Addison's Hymns; that he read with pleasure a collection of letters by the wits of Queen Anne's day, and pored with devout admiration over Thomson's *Seasons*; he was also made acquainted with the Scriptures, and with some books of general history. He was moreover accustomed to write out his own thoughts. In the use of books this gifted youth was not individually more privileged than his compeers. His brother Gilbert gives an account of the education bestowed upon Robert in common with other boys of the neighborhood. This education was instruction in reading, writing, and English grammar—all taught in a way that led to the love of books, and to carefulness, fluency, and correctness in ordinary speech. "Though it cost the schoolmaster some thrashings, I made an excellent English scholar," says Robert Burns. A certain Mrs. Paterson, the widow of a schoolmaster, lent to the humble family of the Burnses the *Spectator*, and Pope's *Homer*, because she presumed they could understand and enjoy such books. There were no *tracts* in those days for the edification of poor people.

It may here be interposed that Burns is not a good example of the benefits of education to the poor, since the history of his life, full of errors and sufferings, does not illustrate the best effects of education. If the unfortunate poet cannot be proved to have been the better for his literary training, what objection can be made to his exemplary father, and his not less exemplary brother, as the representatives of a class in their country that abundantly demonstrates the infinite value of rational and moral discipline,—of virtues fostered by public institutions, and of general opinion, at once the growth and the support of those institutions.

Mr. Murdock, the schoolmaster of Gilbert and Robert Burns, thus describes the domestic circumstances of their father:—

"A mile and a half from the town of Ayr, and a mile from the bridge of Doon, William Burns took a piece of land consisting of about seven acres, part of which he laid out in garden

ground, and part of which he kept to graze a cow, still continuing in the employ of Provost Ferguson [whose gardener he was]. Upon that little farm was erected a humble dwelling, of which William Burns was the architect. It was, with the exception of a little straw, literally a tabernacle of clay. In this mean cottage, of which I myself was at times an inhabitant, I really believe there dwelt a larger portion of content than in any palace in Europe."

When Robert was taken from Mr. Murdock's tuition, that gentleman continued his intimacy with the family. He proceeds to say, —

"I was a frequent visitor at his father's house, when I had my half-holiday, and was very often accompanied with one or two persons more intelligent than myself, that good William Burns might enjoy a mental feast. When the laboring oar was shifted to some other hand, the father and the son sat down with us. Then we enjoyed a conversation wherein solid reasoning, sensible remark, and a moderate seasoning of jocularly, were so nicely blended as to render it palatable to all parties. Robert had a hundred questions to ask me about the French, &c., and the father, who had always rational information in view, had still some question to propose to my more learned friends, upon moral or natural philosophy, or some such interesting subject. Mrs. Burns too was of the party as much as possible ;

'But still the house affairs would call her thence,  
'Which ever as she could with haste despatch  
She'd come again, and with a greedy ear  
Devour up our discourse,' —

and particularly that of her husband. At all times, and in all companies, she listened to him with a more marked attention than to any body else. — O for a world of men of such dispositions. We should then have no wars. I have often wished for the good of mankind, that it was as customary to honor and perpetuate the memory of those who excel in moral rectitude, as it is to extol what are called heroic actions; then would the mausoleum of the friend of my youth overtop and surpass most of the monuments I see in Westminster Abbey."

When Mr. Murdock had lived in London, and had learned, according to Mr. Carlyle, what "good society" was, he declared that "in no meeting of men did he ever enjoy better discourse than at that peasant's hearth."

What an affecting representation of virtue and happiness is this! Father, mother, children, friends, all united in love, and

exalted in goodness, aspiring only to the luxuries of intellect;—to be interpreters of Divine Providence, and to knowledge of truth beyond the appearances of this world;—seeking the wisdom that is from above, and without an emotion of jealousy or rivalry, learning of each other, and cherishing in one another every good disposition. And all this in a mud cabin! Well might Burns in the days of his fame, when he sat at the table of lords, and was smiled upon by great ladies, revert with tender enthusiasm to the blessings bestowed upon the lowly-born. “He was passionately fond,” says Professor Stewart, “of the beauties of nature; and I recollect he once told me, when I was admiring the distant prospect in one of our morning walks, that the sight of so many smoking cottages gave a pleasure to his mind, which none could understand who had not witnessed like himself the happiness and the worth which they contained.”

It appears to us that the example of such a family as the Burns — not a fiction but a fact — is of great importance as it illustrates the dignity of human nature, and as it exhibits the means of building up, and sustaining that dignity, not merely in an individual or a family, but in a whole people who are to be trained by prospective wisdom to the virtue that exalteth a nation. To make a people virtuous and happy, in the present stage of human knowledge, and of great intercommunication among the civilized of all lands, men, beyond the authority of counsel and example, must be initiated in the love of good letters. Burns’s father, besides his excellent conversation with his boys, procured for them edifying books, Derham’s *Astro- and Physico-Theology*, Ray’s *Wisdom of God in Creation*, and others of like value. The reading of trivial silly books can never be a useful substitute for a higher literature. The relish of a frivolous book excludes the love of those that carry the imagination into scenes of real action, and true history;—those which employ the reason and the moral judgment.

The Ayrshire peasantry are not the only people in the world whose condition has been elevated by intellectual pursuits, and moral conversation. We, in the United States, are accustomed to dwell much upon certain traits in the character of Franklin,—his simplicity, frugality, and perseverance;—but the early discipline of his mind is not less remarkable, nor less imitable than the virtues of his maturity. This discipline was no more exclusive to him, than that of the Burnses was to them; and

such discipline will always be just as serviceable to persons never designed by nature for the eminence to which Franklin attained, as it was to him.

Benjamin Franklin, as every body knows, was the son of a Boston tallow chandler. The elder Franklin sent his son to a grammar school, and had him taught reading, writing, and arithmetic ; and when he was ten years old he was taken from school that he might assist his father in his occupation. In this he was accordingly employed, " cutting wicks, filling moulds, taking care of the shop carrying messages," &c. Franklin's father, bred a dyer, and become a soap and candle maker — because dying was not enough in request in Boston, to maintain his large family — was not unaccomplished. His son says of him, —

" He designed with a degree of neatness, and knew a little music. His voice was sonorous and agreeable, so that when he sung a psalm or hymn with the accompaniment of his violin, as was his frequent practice in an evening, when the labors of the day were finished, it was truly delightful to hear him. . . . . But his greatest excellence was a sound understanding, and solid judgment in matters of prudence, both in public and private life. . . . . He was fond of having at his table, as often as possible, some friends, or well-informed neighbors, capable of rational conversation. And he was always careful to introduce useful or ingenious topics of discourse, which might tend to form the minds of his children. By this means he early attracted our attention to what was just, prudent, and beneficial, in the conduct of life. He never talked of the meats that appeared on the table ; never discussed whether they were well or ill dressed, of a good or bad flavor, high-seasoned or otherwise, preferable or inferior to this or that dish of a similar kind."

The effect of a rational life upon health and longevity was demonstrated by Franklin's parents. His father lived to the age of eighty-seven, — his mother to eighty-five. This inscription was placed by their son on the stone which he laid upon their graves.

" Here lie Jonas Franklin, and Abiah his wife. They lived together with reciprocal affection for fifty-seven years ; and without private fortune, by assiduous labour and honest industry decently supported a numerous family, and educated with success thirteen children and seven grandchildren. Let this example encourage thee to discharge cheerfully the duties of thy calling, and to rely on the support of divine providence."



We have extracted somewhat largely from Franklin's memoirs with design to show who and what *the people* are. What their improbableness and the proper means of it are, may be further shown from the philosopher's literary education. The influence of his parents, doubtless, concurred with his natural disposition and taste to form his habits of thinking and acting. He followed his business diligently, and cultivated his mind as diligently. "From my earliest years," he says, "I was passionately fond of reading, and laid out in books all the little money I could procure." Among these books were fifty cheap volumes of voyages and travels. He read also Plutarch's Lives, and the Memorabilia of Socrates in English, Pope's poetry, the Spectator, and Locke's Essay on Human Understanding.

Franklin seems to have estimated rightly the connection between just thinking, and speech as the organ of thought and of truth. To make language the intelligent and precise indicator of his ideas was an important part of his self-instruction. With this design he read the Spectator, made summaries of some of the papers, and afterwards compared his abstracts with their originals. Sometimes he changed verse to prose, always comparing his own compositions with some standard authority. Thus he formed a style, which for its perfection in kind, its simplicity, perspicuity, and exact propriety, is acknowledged to be a model. In fiction, Franklin was acquainted with the writings of Bunyan, De Foe, and Richardson. Of such substance as the books he read was the aliment of the people,—the New England people, in the early part of the eighteenth century. The reading world has greater abundance and greater variety in our day. But we do not account cheap abstracts, Tales for the People, and, in their great porportion, Sectarian tracts to be conducive to a better taste, more general information, or a higher wisdom than the resources which reason, morality, and true history afford without them.

We presume that we do not undervalue the provisions for popular improvement just mentioned, when we affirm that without something superior in the quality of books these avail little. We do not demand that the thing that hath been is alone the thing that shall be; that invention shall be stifled; that no initiatory literature shall be afforded to the young; that for the illustration of human nature and manners, for the excitement of generous sympathies, and for delight of the imagination, no

attractive fiction shall be allowed to them. We would as soon desire that spring should not put forth blossoms and green leaves, that its genial atmosphere should not gladden our being, that the song of the bird should be heard no more in our land. We only desire that what is called popular literature should be in harmony with the higher literature, and lead directly as in natural succession to the pursuit and the love of it; that it should be written with the same attention to critical propriety, and that it should not in its superficialness supercede the enjoyment of the best authors — employing, but not furnishing the mind. “This truly is popularity!” exclaimed Gray, when he saw Thomson’s *Seasons* in a smith’s shop. Goethe believed he might be understood throughout Germany, such is the general enlightenment of that country. We earnestly hope that the education of this nation will enable us to preserve and turn to account the accumulated wisdom of ages, and will never deprave the privilege of reading by employing it chiefly upon such books, as beguile the hour while they enfeeble and impoverish the understanding. Another example, more recent but not less authentic, and fully as corroborative of the moral fact attempted to be proved may be added to those of the *Burnses* and of *Franklin*.

An interesting notice of a person in very humble life, improved, and in proportion made happier by the use of books is given by William Howitt in his *Rural Life of England*.

“It was but the other day,” says the writer, “that the farming man of a neighboring lady having been pointed out to me as at once remarkably fond of reading and attached to his profession, I entered into conversation with him; and it is long since I experienced such a cordial pleasure as in the contemplation of the character that opened upon me. He was a strong man; not to be distinguished by his dress and appearance from those of his class, but having a very intelligent countenance; and the vigorous healthful feelings, and right views, that seemed to fill not only his mind but his whole frame, spoke volumes for that vast enjoyment and elevation of character which a rightly-directed taste for reading produces. His sound appreciation of those authors he had read — some of our best poets, historians, essayists, and travellers — was truly cheering, when contrasted with the miserable and frippery taste which distinguishes a large class of readers, where a thousand-times-repeated novels of fashionable life, neither original in conception, nor of any worth in their object, — the languid offspring of a tinsel and exotic existence, — are read because they can be read without the labor

of thinking. While such works are poured in legions upon the public, like a host of dead leaves from the forest, driven along in mimic life by a mighty wind,—and while such things are suffered to swell the Puffiads of publishers, and shoulder away, or discourage, the substantial labors of high intellect, it is truly reviving to see the awakening of mind in the common people.

“ I found this countryman was a member of our Artisan’s Library, and every Saturday evening he walked over to the town to exchange his books. I asked him whether reading did not make him less satisfied with his daily work ; his answer deserves universal attention : — ‘ Before he read his work was weary to him ; for in the solitary fields an empty head measured the time out tediously to double its length ; but now no place was so sweet as the solitary fields ; he had always something pleasant floating across his mind ; and the labor was delightful, and the day only too short.’ Seeing his ardent attachment to the country, I sent him the last edition of the ‘ Book of the Seasons ; ’ and I must here give a *verbatim et literatim* extract from the note in which he acknowledged its receipt, because it not only contains an experimental proof of the falsity of a common alarm on the subject of popular education, [apathy on this subject, or on the details and instruments of it, in this country perhaps preventing the possible perfection of such education, nearly as much as opposition to the extension of it retards and limits it in England] but shows at what little cost happiness may be conveyed to a poor man : — ‘ Believe me, dear sir, this kind act has made an impression on my heart that time will not easily erase. There are none of your works, in my opinion, more valuable than this. The study of nature is not only the most delightful but the most elevating. This will be true in every station of life. But how much more ought the *poor man* to prize this study ! which if prized and pursued as it ought, will enable him to bear with patient resignation and cheerfulness the lot by providence assigned him. O sir ! I pity the workingman who possesses not a taste for reading. ’Tis true it may sometimes lead him to neglect the more important duties of his station ; but his better and more enlightened judgment will soon correct him in this particular, and will enable him, while he steadily and diligently pursues his private studies, and participates in intellectual enjoyment, to prize as he ought, his character *as a man* in every relative duty of life.’ ”

We have endeavored to show by special and genuine examples, taken from different countries, the susceptibility of im-

provement inherent in the people ; and not only that great men arise from them, but are essentially of them ; and, without notoriety or eminence of individuals, that the agricultural and mechanic classes, and even day laborers are capable of intellectual pleasures, and acquirements that perish not in the using. We know from our observation of men and women that grossness and vulgarity may give place among persons of any class to whatsoever things are pure, lovely, and of good report. We do not therefore believe that such a result is an accident, but rather an effect of some moral cause — generally some widespread public opinion with provisions consequent to it — some influence of instruction derived from men and books.

In Scotland the school-system followed upon the announcement of protestantism, and protestantism was established by the translation of the Scriptures, the general distribution of them, and the power of reading them, with frequent and earnest exhortations to make use of such power. Increased intelligence, a greater desire of general knowledge, and higher moral principles in practice grow as natural fruits from such provisions extended efficiently from the adult to the rising race. What the philosopher, the poet, the historian have done for mankind seems to us to be the proper patrimony of the whole human family. To connect by some apparent link the least considerable in human estimate, with those, the great ornaments and benefactors of our species, is the function of an effective popular literature. But how widely removed from such manifest relation must be the minds that take their first lessons of history from Peter Parley ; their first notices of the soul from Gallaudet ; and the gratification of their consummate taste from the *Lady's Book*, and *Tales for the People*. Such, or nearly such, is the process by which a large portion of this nation are cultivating their children, and recreating themselves ; to the too great neglect of that beautiful literature derived from Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, and countless more, who have uttered, in our own tongue, all that elevates the human mind ; transfusing into, moreover, or representing in it, the thought, the virtue, and creative talent of a remote antiquity, and of many lands.

Those who write for the people should do it as a preparation in their minds for that, which has already been done for them. The highest order of talent employed upon books for them, with design to influence their judgment upon literature,

would not be misapplied. It may be said that scholarship is one thing, and knowledge for the people another. But scholars are of the people, and for the most part of like endowments; and wherein they excel the latter, they are altogether likely to be more encouraged, and to be more justly appreciated by an enlightened than by an ignorant community. The scholar belongs to a brotherhood of intelligence, and by that relation fixes, and turns to the best uses, his preëminence. From the sphere of his light, the wise man sheds light abroad, which can only be discerned so far as every member of the society to which the distinguished individual belongs possesses the understanding fitted by culture to perceive wherein the greater is entitled to honor. While the highest class of intellect, the leaders of mankind, for such there are, are determined to their destiny by tendencies of their own nature, other men are guided, drawn, and wrought upon, by a multitude of influences given in trust by divine providence to those who are designed to be their benefactors. "Great men," says Guizot, "cannot be accounted for." "There is only one cause for the want of great men in any period," says Mr. Hallam, "Nature does not see fit to produce them." But society need never run down for want of such men. If they are not of our age and nation, if we do not meet such in our walks, nor hear their voices in our places of concourse, though absent or dead, they still speak to us. Great men are "essentially immortal;" they never die out in their transmissive influence, and what they have invented or recorded belongs to all ages, and in a measure to all people. If the most gifted among men is emphatically of the elect, for whom is he elected? For the benefit of his fellow men, for the purifying and exalting of their moral nature, — the prevention or correction of what may be wrong in them, in opinions, in motives, in actions; for the substitution of what is true and profitable, holy and generous, in displacement of ignorance and apathy, obstinate error and self-weariness, all sordidness of desire and pursuit, and all uncharitableness in action.

If such be the obligation of the greatest minds to the humblest, it is the part of wisdom to make the relation between the favored and their benefactors efficacious. The best means to this end, whether of public instruction or private endeavor, is to make literature the organ of it. Let our literature for the

young then be "the beginning of wisdom." It should not mainly consist of dry compends, and well meant fictions, but of something that will inculcate true virtue, and commend it as the better part to be chosen and cherished.

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"To know  
That which before us lies in daily life  
Is the prime wisdom."

Not to be left

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"in things that most concern  
Unpractised, unprepared, and still to seek,"

is the greatest blessing that discipline can confer an inexperience.

Fiction is not to be despised as an instrument of moral culture. It has always been employed in wise counsel from the days of Jotham and Nathan, through every kind of instruction from *Æsop* to Spenser and Shakspeare, under an infinity of forms, to our time in every land. But the chief use of fiction is its truth, its truth of moral principles. Adam Clarke, the Methodist divine, believed that fairy tales and ghost stories told salutary truth; the truth of spiritual existence and agency; affirming that notions of intelligent being without corporeality, given before the gross and palpable have blinded the mind's eye, and clogged its wings, are elements of faith in things divine and heavenly.

Stories of virtue rewarded, of vice and folly punished, and of sin forgiven, may hold out incentives to persevere in well doing, may encourage to depart from iniquity, may contribute with higher influences to set the affections above the lowest objects of human choice. But the same lessons are more impressively taught by truth itself, uncompounded with well meant invention. Madame de Staël says, somewhere in her writings, that the moral of a fiction may be rationally doubted, because the apportionment of consequence is as much in the inventor's power as is the whole course of action in imaginary agents. The human subjects of a fictitious tale are always regarded in some degree as unreal personages. No illusion is strong enough entirely to replace such conviction. How much then of the retribution attached to their deeds is regarded as an inevitable result; a proper illustration of God's dealings with men?

The worst effect of reading pure fiction, to those who read nothing else,—and of ill-educated people such is the entire reading,—is that it leaves the mind in the same empty state in which it commenced the new tale. If a young person reads the life of Sir William Jones, of Madame Roland, of Flaxman, of La Mere Angelique, he or she learns the efficacy of virtuous resolution, the success of self-discipline, the beauty of a life consecrated to pure art, the ennobling and reformatory influences of genuine piety, and heart-bred holiness. There is no escaping from the demonstration and authority of these examples. But take away their authenticity, set them forth in dramatic power, call each individual by other names, add loves and friendships they never knew to the events of their history, and trials and triumphs that belong to romance to the grave reality of their experience, would there be more or less instructiveness to the narratives that should celebrate them thus, than in those that do the plain unvarnished fact deliver? And besides when one reads the history of a man it is also the history of his age and country in some respects. Luther belongs to Germany, to Europe, to mankind, to bygone ages, to future time, to truth, to liberty; and so do Galileo, and Milton, and multitudes more, who have illustrated mankind, and of whom the most interesting memorials yet remain.

The light reading which School Library projectors, and Sunday-School collections, minister to the green age, and which they who are thus begun with minister to themselves in the ripe, makes no representations of events that have actually happened, nor of the proper capability and responsibility of a moral being. No real advance in knowledge, no infixing of principles is effected by such reading. The higher works of fiction, either of poetry or romance, that demand preparatory knowledge, and oftentimes erudite criticism to make them intelligible, are not the frequent and favorite reading of those just alluded to, who yet declare themselves to be “very fond of reading.” Some who know not a letter are better taught than they. Not to exclude rational fiction, but making use of all its safe and salutary lessons, it is important that the people should learn their own nature, man as he is, and as he has been, in savage and civilized life; in pagan darkness and Christian light; in his enterprises and achievements; in his temptations and trials; in his weakness and his strength; in different

lands and different ages; and especially in this our day, when thought and action, speculation and experiment, are carrying forward the race, each individual with the whole to the high destiny of intelligent, moral, and immortal beings.

In looking over our own country, over our own growing cities, our flourishing manufacturing towns, our broad lands made fertile by the labor of a vigorous agricultural population, the most interesting idea which arises in the mind is not the physical power thus developed, or the wealth thus created. It is the happiness of the greatest number, or the greatest happiness of the whole. Thence follows the inquiry, what is the best quality of happiness? The rapture of the bacchanal, the self-oblivion of the sot, the "fickle reek" of human applause, the complacency of satisfied ambition have all been extolled, even by the poet's song, as modes of enjoyment. But these are all transitory, inferior in their nature, and nothing worth compared with home-born happiness growing out of all the virtues that are cherished by the fireside, that are inculcated in God's temple, that should be taught from the dame-school to the college, and which it is the function of a popular literature to set forth so attractively, that they shall seem more estimable than all the unsatisfying things of time and sense. The man who loves his country, in the most generous significance of patriotism, is not less concerned to provide the best instruction for all people than to bring out all their physical resources. He is as desirous that no talent be perverted, or lost to society, no honesty be corrupted, no virtuous endeavor be discouraged, no capacity of goodness be turned to vice, and no just taste or elevated standard in conduct be degraded, as he is to enlarge his possessions, to augment the wealth of the community, or to outvie the men of other countries in distinctions merely external.

When the better informed among us give countenance and encouragement to good literature, to the disparagement of that which is anything but good, and when just criticism enlightens the common mind, it may be hoped that we shall not deserve the reproach as a people, that we are given up to all sordidness; that we have fixed our preference upon the lower objects of human pursuit, and that we content ourselves with a popular literature accommodated to mean tastes rather than to the cultivation of better. Whether we shall accept the patrimony



of the past, and enrich it with creations of our own time; whether we shall go on from strength to strength in all the power of accumulated wealth of the mind, or content ourselves with what mediocrity invents and ignorance buys, remains with ourselves; and our choice in this matter will color our whole character as a people, notwithstanding the exception of a few higher natures among us, under a more enlightened culture. If our popular mind is to be recreated and satisfied by an impoverished and perishable literature, then as a people our retired hours, our daily intercourse, our social pleasures must lose all dignity and grace, and not only we, but our children, and their posterity, must deteriorate in consequence.

E. R.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*The Kingdom of Christ ; or Hints respecting the Principles, Constitution, and Ordinances of the Catholic Church.* By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, M. A., Chaplain of Guy's Hospital, and Professor of English Literature and History in King's College, London. From the second London Edition. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1843. 8vo. pp. 595.

This is not a book to be spoken of contemptuously. There is a good deal in it we like ; a good deal of discriminating thought ; but much to which we cannot assent ; and there is a haziness spread over the author's leading idea, which it requires some effort to penetrate. For some of his thoughts he acknowledges himself indebted to Coleridge, though from several of his views, especially those relating to the Christian rites and priesthood, Coleridge would have dissented.

This "Catholic Church" (not Roman) is a spiritual and permanent institution, the "signs" of which are, "Baptism, the Creeds, Forms of Worship, the Eucharist, the Ministerial Orders, the Scriptures." All these signs and characters he finds in the English Church, which, besides universality, has also "nationality." In this church, he thinks, are embraced all the elements which lie at the foundation of the several sects, Quakerism and Unitarianism not excepted.

He discusses Quakerism at some length, and has some very acute remarks upon it. Quakerism, as a system, he dislikes, as every true Churchman must ; yet he finds, in the great central doctrines of primitive Quakerism, "either truths or hints of truths which are most vital and important." He considers the experiment of Quakerism, however, as unsuccessful ; "all its grand pretensions," he says, "are at an end." Between Evangelism on the one side, and Unitarianism on the other, it cannot long maintain itself.

The author then proceeds to consider, what he calls, the principles of "Pure Protestantism," the first of which is "Justification by Faith," the representative of which is Luther, "Election," represented by Calvin, and "Authority of the Scriptures," represented by Zuinglius. He treats of the objections to Protestant systems embodying these three principles, and of what there is good in them ; the "working," of these systems, and

what he very coolly calls the "final result of the Protestant Experiment."

He then comes to Unitarianism. This, in his opinion, is not wholly evil. It has a "positive" as well as a "negative" side, and the fundamental ideas on which it rests are just.

"To suppose that there is nothing positive in Unitarianism," he says, "that it derives all the popularity it has ever enjoyed from its denials, is a plausible, but a serious mistake. It has been embraced by a number of earnest minds, which never could have had any sympathy with a system merely because it rejected what other men believed. I do maintain," he adds, "that something deeper and more solid lay beneath their not-belief; that it is very important to know what that was, not only for their sakes but for our own; not only because the only way of extricating any man from a falsehood is to do justice to his truth; but because by this course the history of the church and the plans of God, so far as we may be allowed to examine into them, become far more intelligible."—p. 126.

The first great principle embodied in Unitarianism, according to him, is

"The strong inward conviction, that the unity of God is a deep, primary truth, which no words can explain away, no experiences of ten thousand minds can make unreal, no dogmas of ten thousand generations turn into a nullity; that it has stood its ground and asserted itself in defiance of all such words, experience, dogmas; that everything which is true in the teachings which men have received has tended to bring it into clearer manifestation."—pp. 127, 128.

The second grand principle of Unitarianism he recognises

"in the conviction, that the idea of the love of God is an absolute primary idea which cannot be reduced under any other; which cannot be explained away by any other; which no records, experiences, dogmas, if they have lasted for ten thousand generations, can weaken or contradict; which must be the foundation of all thought, all theology, all human life. With such a conviction," he adds, "I believe it is as dangerous to trifle as with that respecting the divine unity."—p. 129.

To these two principles the teachings of nature lent their aid, telling us that He, "who created the sun and moon," was also the Father of the children of men, and they could not be in all their generations "the subjects of a curse."

The author does not do justice to Unitarianism, and he has fallen into some mistakes respecting it; but the above extracts will show that he is far from descending to that vulgar, indiscriminate abuse of it with which our ears are so often pained. If Unitarianism has been connected with materialism in philosophy, that philosophy was recognised, he asserts, by those who assailed, as well as by those who defended it. It was the phil-

losophy of the times. That philosophy, he admits, has been now thrown aside, particularly in North America, to which he refers for an example of modern Unitarianism. "The coating of dry materialism with which it (Unitarianism) was associated, and from which it appeared inseparable, has been cast away; and the orthodox systems are charged by the modern Unitarians with a disregard of man's spiritual nature and his spiritual powers."

Viewed as a system, however, Unitarianism finds no more favor in his eyes than Quakerism, and what he terms "Pure Protestantism," and he talks in a similar way, and with a true Churchman's complacency, of the "final result of the Unitarian Experiment," though from his own pages it may be gathered, that American Unitarianism, with all the Pantheistic tendencies attributed to it, is not yet dead nor dying. "The Americans," he says, "are craving for something which is Catholic, and not sectarian. This system appears to have that merit, and it is a common opinion, that either Unitarianism or Romanism will overspread America, or that the two will divide it between them. If there be no Catholicism which is not identical with one of these schemes, I cannot doubt that they are right." — p. 147.

England has been the centre of all the religious movements for the last hundred years, as France has been of the political, and Germany of the philosophical movements. Thus Methodism rose in a sort of antagonism to Unitarianism, which was essentially "impersonal," and in a sense reasserted the principles of the Reformation. So says the author. But we cannot follow him in his comments on Methodism, on the Materialism of the eighteenth century, on recent changes, on the old and new Rationalism, or political movements, and education. The conclusion to which he arrives is, that "the *principles* asserted by the religious societies which have been formed in Europe since the Reformation, are solid and imperishable," as those of Quakerism, Calvinism, and Unitarianism; but "that the *systems* in which those principles have been embodied were faulty in their origin, have been found less and less to fulfil their purpose as they have grown older, and are now exhibiting the most manifest indications of approaching dissolution," this is true alike of the Quaker, the Pure Protestant, and the Unitarian systems. The author goes for the whole.

Where then is to be found the one universal, spiritual kingdom, body, or constitution, which is to defy time and the elements, earth and hell? Where but in the glorious English Church, the like of which never has been, or shall be? Has not this all the signs, as above enumerated, of a true Catholic Church, a "universal and spiritual constitution?" And does it not con-

tain within itself, and express in its forms, the "ideas and principles," of "Quakerism, of Calvinism, of Lutheranism, of Unitarianism?" To be sure it does, and to render it perfect, it has, as before said, its "national side" too. It is indissolubly united with the State, "embodied" in it. It thinks too for the people, and that is a great thing. "I have contended," says the author, "that the Bible without a church is inconceivable, that the appointed ministers of the church are the appointed instruments for guiding men into a knowledge of the Bible, that the notion of private judgment is a false notion, that inspiration belongs to the church, and not merely to the writers of the Bible," and so on. Yet the writer denounces Romanism!

These matters occupy some three hundred pages and more. As to the argument used, it will appear convincing, we suppose, only to those who need not to be convinced. Yet with all the author's complacency in his own views, and glorification of his own church, we cannot find it in our hearts to be angry with him; we are amused rather. We like his good temper, and cheerfully bear testimony to his freedom from all acrimony, which forms a delightful feature of the volume. He has some visions we should be sorry to disturb. Yet we must say, that if Catholicism is to be the religion of the whole world, it will not, we feel very confident, be the Catholicism of the English Church, or English Episcopacy. It will be either Roman Catholicism, or the Catholicism of Unitarianism. Between the two, there is, as it seems to us, no medium, no stopping point, no secure resting place. If Romanism or Unitarianism is likely to divide America, or one of them to overspread it, why not the whole world also?

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*The Mount Vernon Reader for Junior, Middle, and Senior Classes.* By the Messrs. ABBOTT, Boston, B. B. Mussey. 1843.

We desire to speak a good word for these new School Books, the *Junior Reader*, the *Middle Reader*, and the *Senior Reader*, a regular series for the youngest and oldest reading classes. They are prepared by the "Messrs. Abbott," and have all the interest which these excellent authors have given to their other works, being partly compiled and partly original, and having particular reference to *moral* influence. This most important object has been so sadly overlooked in most of our School Books, and even defeated in many, that we hail with gratitude these volumes so replete with intellectual and moral instruction combined. They are also well fitted for common readers in a family. We cannot say they are perfect; there

are a few instances noticed in a hasty perusal where we should differ in judgment; but we can and do advise, that parents and teachers examine them for themselves.

We can also, with entire confidence and heartiness, commend the new juvenile series which *Jacob Abbott*, author of the Rollo Books, has just begun under the taking title of *Marco Paul's Travels and Adventures in Pursuit of Knowledge*. Save the author's single fault of minuteness and diffusion, here is everything a child can want in such books, and much that parents have reason to be thankful for.

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*A Letter to the Right Rev. Father in God, Richard, Lord Bishop of Oxford, on the Tendency to Romanism, imputed to Doctrines held of old, as now, in the English Church.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D. D., late Fellow of Oriel College; Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church. From the Second Oxford Edition. New-York: J. S. Redfield, Clinton Hall. 1843.

*Dr. Pusey's Sermon. The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent: A Sermon preached before the University, in the Cathedral Church of Christ, in Oxford, on the fourth Sunday after Easter.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D. D. Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Oriel College. New-York: James A. Sparks, Office of the Churchman, 109 Nassau Street. 1843.

*The True Issue for the True Churchman. A statement of facts in relation to the Recent Ordination in St. Stephen's Church, New-York.* By Drs. SMITH AND ANTHON. New-York: Harper and Brothers, 82 Cliff-Street. 1843.

WE may hereafter go more fully into the merits of some of the questions raised by these pamphlets; at present we can do little more than notice their appearance, as among the tracts of the times. The Sermon of Dr. Pusey, seeing it proved the occasion of the suspension of the learned author from his office as preacher in the Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford, is the most interesting of these documents. As a sermon it would deserve no notice, except, perhaps, a rebuke for its rather unusual dulness. It is only because the reader is in search of heretical opinion, that he makes out after one or two failures to master its paragraphs. After having read and digested it, our wonder is not, as it seems to have been with so many, that a good and true Episcopalian should have written or published it, still

less, have arrived at the opinions it discloses, but that the Vice Chancellor of Oxford should have committed the blunder of rebuking him for doing so. It would seem as if that dignitary in taking the step he has, was not very familiar with the fathers of his own church. Drawing our patristic lore chiefly, not wholly, from the sermon and its appendixes, and the letter to the Bishop of Oxford, nothing can be plainer than that in broaching the opinions contained in the Sermon, Dr. Pusey is merely announcing himself a disciple of a host of the most learned, pious, and till now, orthodox Archbishops, bishops, and lower dignitaries of the Church. If the names of Archbishops Sharp, and Wake, of Bishops, Wilson, Ken, and Bramhall, and a score of others, are to be cast out as heretical, then may that of Pusey come under the same condemnation, but not before. If the church is not ready to renounce or defame them, it cannot consistently touch the Oxford professor. They are heretics or true churchmen together. So with those who in New-York have made the attempt to censure Mr. Carey for his Romanism, and so noisily protested against his ordination on that ground. They have taken the same false step with the Vice Chancellor, and seem to have been little aware whom they were charging with tendencies to Rome and Popery, when they leveled their weapons at the candidate. Messrs. Anthon and Smith are clearly wrong; wrong not only in their resistance of the authority they had bound themselves as churchmen to obey,—and rightly so bound themselves, if their bishop is by divine right and apostolical descent their spiritual father and lord,—but wrong also, in imputing to Mr. Carey, as damnable heresies, opinions held by martyrs and saints without number of their own church. If our eyes have not been covered by mists and darkness while we have read, few things can be plainer than that the sentence of the Vice Chancellor,—pronounced inconsiderately we suspect,—will be revoked, or reversed by some higher authority, if higher authority there is, and also, that the imitators here of the greater actors there, will quietly withdraw their opposition, and suffer the subject and the strife to go to sleep. This we are persuaded will be the course pursued both in England and in our own country; and in a short time we shall hear of Puseyism only as the rather high high-churchism of some middle-age dreamers, some sincere and devout lovers of church antiquity, who may adopt opinions and restore practices that indeed look like Romanism, but are in truth nothing more than opinions and practices belonging to pure ages of the ancient church, and which fathers of the English Church have held time out of mind without imputation cast on their Orthodoxy or their Protestantism.

In the censures heaped without stint by some of the church upon Puseyism, it seems to us, — we may be wrong, — but it seems to us that both in England and in this country, there has been a forgetfulness of the true character and theory of the church of England, the principle of which appears to be to grant the widest possible liberty, even to licence, of doctrine to her children ; permitting, on the one hand, an approach to the very borders of Romanism, so that the mere forms or shadows of words shall make the separation between them, and in the opposite direction an equally near approach to the very borders of Unitarianism, the other perilous extreme. Every shade of opinion on all theological topics of difference, Calvinism in all its forms, Arminianism, Arianism, Sabellianism it has been the practice, and the design, as we think, of that church to wink at, provided, there should be at the same time a certain apparent conformity — a subscribing to a number of articles expressed with convenient vagueness, so that the person subscribing, putting upon them his own interpretation, might with a little ingenuity find there his own opinions, if he had any — but especially, a conformity to the appointed order of the church in ceremony and worship. However the English Church may have wished for more, she has in fact, required only a formal subscription, and content with this, has received to her communion every variety of Christian belief. She has with a truly catholic wisdom taken little notice of opinion; and opened her doors, a free asylum for all who, if they might *think* as they pleased, and be at peace, were willing to *appear* to believe with the church. She has thus approached very near to the idea of a true Catholic Church, in which no account whatever should be taken of doctrine, worship through scriptural forms of expression alone being its instrument, and holiness its end.

If this be correct, a greater mistake could not have been committed by the dignitaries of the church than to arraign, as they have done, the expression of opinion contained in the Oxford tracts and these publications of Dr. Pusey. They have not only condemned the wisest and best of their own communion by the sentence pronounced against the Oxford heretic, but have departed from the idea of their church, introducing a principle and practice of interference, which, if the steps already taken be not retraced, will, in its further prosecution, break that ancient institution into a thousand fragments ; an event for a time postponed, but sooner or later for a variety of reasons inevitable.

The Sermon of Dr. Pusey on the Eucharist and his Letter to



the Bishop of Oxford are too familiar to most of our readers, as well as the whole subject, to render a minuter notice of them necessary. We will only therefore, for the sake of those into whose hands these tracts may not have fallen, take up a single point for the sake of showing how completely Dr. Pusey has justified himself as a sound churchman, unless the greatest lights of the later English Church are together with him, by these modern prelates to stand impeached of Romanism. We take for our purpose the Doctrine of the Sermon before us, — transubstantiation — we mean rather, the sacrament of the Eucharist of which it treats. Dr. Pusey thus presents his idea of the rite.

“And the teaching of the whole, as far as such as we may grasp it, is this. That He is the Living Bread, because He came down from Heaven, and as being One God with the Father, hath life in Himself, even as the Father hath life in Himself; the life then which He is He imparted to that Flesh which He took into Himself, yea, which He took so wholly, that Holy Scripture says, He became it, ‘the Word became flesh,’ and since it is thus a part of Himself, ‘Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood,’ (He Himself says the amazing words), ‘eateth Me,’ and so receiveth into Himself in an ineffable manner his Lord Himself, ‘dwelleth’ (our Lord says) ‘in Me and I in him,’ and having Christ within him, not only *shall* he *have*, but he *hath*’ already ‘eternal Life,’ because he hath Him who is ‘the Only True God and Eternal Life;’ and so Christ ‘will raise him up at the last Day,’ because he hath His Life in him. Receiving Him into this very body, they who are His receive life, which shall pass over to our very decaying flesh; they have within them Him Who is Life and Immortality and Incorruption, to cast out or absorb into itself our natural mortality, and death, and corruption, and ‘shall live forever,’ because made one with Him Who Alone ‘liveth for evermore.’” — p. 11.

“This is (if we may reverently so speak), the order of the mystery of the Incarnation, that the Eternal Word so took our flesh into Himself, as to impart to it His own inherent life; so then we, partaking of it, that life is transmitted on to us also, and not to our souls only, but our bodies also, since we become flesh of His flesh, and bone of His bone, and He who is wholly life is imparted to us wholly. The Life which He is, spreads around, first giving its own vitality to that sinless flesh which He united indissolubly with Himself and in it encircling and vivifying our whole nature, and then, through that bread which is His Flesh, finding an entrance to us individually, penetrating us, soul and body and spirit, and irradiating and transforming into His own light and life.” — p. 12.

“Yet such is undoubted Catholic teaching, and the most literal import of Holy Scripture, and the mystery of the Sacrament, that the Eternal Word, Who is God, having taken to Him our flesh and joined it indissolubly with Himself, and so, where His Flesh is, there He is, and we receiving it, receive Him, and receiving Him are joined on to Him through His Flesh to the Father, and He dwelling in us, dwell in Him, and with Him in God.” — p. 14.

Further on in the discourse we find as follows.

"Were it *only* a thankful commemoration of his redeeming love, or *only* a showing forth of His Death, or a strengthening *only* and refreshing of the soul, it were indeed a reasonable service, but it would have no direct healing for the sinner. To him its special joy is that it is his Redeemer's very broken Body, It is His Blood, which was shed for the remission of his sins. In the words of the ancient Church, he 'drinks his ransom,' he eateth that, 'the very Body and Blood of the Lord, the only sacrifice for sin,' 'God poureth out' for him yet 'the most precious blood of His Only-Begotten,' they 'are fed from the Cross of the Lord, because they eat his Body and Blood;' and as of the Jews of old, even those who had been the betrayers and murderers of their Lord, it was said, 'the Blood which in their phrensy they shed, believing they drank,' so of the true penitent it may be said, whatever may have been his sins, so he could repent, awful as it is to say, the Blood he indeed despised, and profaned, and trampled under foot, may he, when himself humbled in the dust, drink, and therein drink his salvation."—p. 16.

In his preface to the Sermon Dr. Pusey repeats his meaning.

"Once more to repeat my meaning, in order to relieve any difficulties which might (if so be) be entertained by pious minds, trained in an opposed and defective system of teaching, before whom the Sermon may now be brought. My own views were cast (so to speak) in the mould of the minds of Bp. Andrews and Abp. Bramhall, which I regarded as the type of the teaching of our Church. From them originally, and with them, I learnt to receive in their literal sense our Blessed Lord's solemn words, 'This is My Body,' and from them, while I believe the consecrated elements to become by virtue of His consecrating Words, truly and really, yet spiritually and in an ineffable way, His Body and Blood, I learnt also to withhold my thoughts as to the *mode* of this great Mystery, but 'as a Mystery' to 'adore it.' With the Fathers then, and our own great divines, explaining as I believe the true meaning of our Church, I could not but speak of the consecrated elements as being, what, since He has so called them, I believe them to become—His Body and Blood; and I feared not, that, using their language, I should, when speaking of Divine and 'spiritual' things, be thought to mean otherwise than 'spiritually,' or having disclaimed all thoughts as to the *mode* of their being, that any should suppose I meant a *mode* which our Church disallows."—*Preface*, p. 4.

These are the strong expressions employed by Dr. Pusey in treating of the Eucharist, which have occasioned him to be charged with a tendency to Romanism, and to be suspended from his office as preacher. It may not be easy for the reader to see how a Roman Catholic could express *his* views of the Sacrament in much stronger terms, but that is not to our present purpose. We proceed to show by a few quotations taken at random from the Appendix and the letter to the Bishop of Oxford, how satisfactorily the Author proves the identity of his opinions with those of great and good men of the same Church.

In the first place we take the words of Archbishop Laud.

"As for the Church of England, nothing is more plain than that it believes and teaches the true and real presence of Christ in the Eucharist." — *Conference with Fisher*, p. 294, sec 35.

"All sides agree in the truth with the Church of England, that in the most blessed Sacrament the worthy receiver is by his faith made spiritual partaker of the true and real Body and Blood of Christ, truly and really. I would have no man troubled at the words truly and really, &c. Bellarmine saith 'Protestants do often grant, that the true and real Body of Christ is in the Eucharist, and it is most true. For the Calvinists, at least they which follow Calvin himself, do not only believe that the true and real Body of Christ is received in the Eucharist, but that it is there; and that we partake of it *vere et realiter*: nor can that place by any art be shifted or by any violence wrested from Calvin's true meaning of the Presence of Christ, in and at the blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist. And, for the Church of England, nothing is more plain than that it believes and teaches the true and real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist; unless A. C. can make a body no body, and blood no blood. Nay, Bishop Ridley adds yet further, 'That in the Sacrament is the very true and natural Body and Blood of Christ, that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead, &c.'"  
*Laud's Conference with Fisher*, p. 286 — 296.

Archbishop Bramhall.

"Having viewed all our strength with a single eye, I find not one of your arguments that comes home to Transubstantiation, but only to a true real presence; which no genuine son of the Church of England did ever deny, no, nor your adversary himself. Christ said, 'This is My Body'; what He said we do steadfastly believe. He said not, after this or that manner, *neque con, neque sub, neque trans*. And therefore we place it among the opinions of the Schools, not among the articles of our Faith. The Holy Eucharist, which is the Sacrament of peace and unity, ought not to be made the matter of strife and contention." *Works*, fol. ed. p, 15.

Hammond.

"S. You told me even now, that you would show me how the phrase, 'This is My Body, in the Gospel, interpreted by, this taking and eating is My Body,' was to be understood: perhaps it may now be time for you to pay me that debt.

"C. It is a fit reason to do so; for this very phrase of St. Paul's, 'The Bread which we break is the communion of the Body of Christ,' is the key to open that difficulty, and indeed perfectly all one, of the very same importance with that. This *breaking, taking, eating of the Bread*, this whole action, is the real communication of the Body of Christ to me, and is therefore by some ancient writers called by a word which signifies the *participation*, (communication and participation being the same, only one referred to the giver, the other to the receiver,) the very giving Christ's Body to me; that as verily as I eat

the bread in my mouth, so verily God in Heaven bestows on me, communicates to me the Body of the crucified Saviour. And so all that I told you of the full sense of that phrase, '*Communication of Christ's Body*,' is again to be repeated here to make up the sense of those words, '*This is My Body*;' which being so largely enlarged on, I need not now to repeat it to you." *Practical Catechism*, p. 354, ed. 1715.

Archbishop Sharp.

"But what then? Do we not in the Sacrament truly partake of the Body and Blood of Christ? God forbid that any one should deny it. There is none that understands anything of the Sacrament but must acknowledge, that therein to all worthy receivers the Body and Blood of Christ is both given and likewise received by them. This is the sense of the Church of England, when she doth so often declare that she owns the Real Presence of Christ's Body and Blood to all that worthily receive the Sacrament.

"We do indeed own that Christ is really present in the Sacrament to 'all worthy receivers, and in our Communion Service we pray to God to grant that we may eat the Flesh of His dear Son, and drink his Blood, &c. All this we own, and it is very necessary we should." *Sermon on Transubstantiation*, vol. vii."

The language of the Church Catechism, as quoted by Dr. Pusey in his Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, is, —

"The body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." "The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner." "On [the] combined teaching," he further says, "of our Articles, Catechism, and Liturgy, we believe the doctrine of our Church to be, that in the Communion, there is a true, real, actual, though Spiritual, (or rather the more real, because Spiritual,) Communication of the Body and Blood of Christ to the believer through the Holy Elements; that there is a true, real, spiritual Presence of Christ at the Holy Supper; more real than if we could, with Thomas, feel Him with our hands, or thrust our hands into His side; that this is bestowed upon faith, and received by faith, as is every other Spiritual gift, but that our faith is but a receiver of God's real, mysterious, precious Gift; that faith opens our eyes to see what is really there, and our hearts to receive it; but that it is there independently of our faith. And this real, spiritual Presence it is, which makes it so awful a thing to approach unworthily." — *Letter*, p. 86.

These few passages are sufficient to show that Dr. Pusey, if he has sinned against the Doctrine of the English Church, has sinned in good company. We cannot see that he has offended against the least of the commandments, and are only led to observe, from our examination of the subject, how much nearer the Doctrine of the Episcopal Church approaches that of the Church of Rome than is commonly supposed. In regard to this

mystery of the divine presence in the elements, for example, we do not doubt that to divines of the English Church the difference seems a very wide one between their notion of a "vere et realiter" spiritual presence and the doctrine of the great Roman church; but to those who are without, the difference is less striking. The Romanist holds that "in the sacrament of the Eucharist, under the forms of bread and wine, is really and substantially present the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that there is a conversion made of the whole substance of the bread into his body, and of the wine into his blood, which is called transubstantiation — whereupon it becomes an object of adoration." But nevertheless the bread and wine are *not flesh and blood* to the *sight* and *taste* of the Roman communicant, but bread and wine. They are flesh and blood only in an inconceivable mysterious manner. Ask him what that substance before him is, and he will say, to my *senses* it is bread, to my *senses* it is wine, yet I believe them to be respectively the very body and blood of my Lord. So with an Episcopalian, he denies the bread and wine to be *apparently* the body and blood of Christ, just as the Romanist does and must, but says they nevertheless *are* the body and blood, "vere et realiter" — how, he does not pretend to explain; it is a mystery. Yet, after all, he does define, as well as the Romanist, saying, with Dr. Pusey, that the body and blood of Christ are really *spiritually* present, which is much what the Romanist must mean, when he says they are substantially present — by which he intends to convey either that they are in *effect* present, or in very substance, which substance to the eye and taste is but bread and wine, and only in a spiritual mysterious sense flesh and blood.

Dr. Pusey defends himself with equal success on the other grounds of accusation, the sufficiency of the Scriptures and authority of the church, justification, invocation of saints, &c. If any heresy exists, he shows that it belongs to the Church rather than to himself. In the course of his remarks he points out many strong lines and marks of distinction between his opinions and the Doctrine of the Roman Church, as well as reveals those in which Episcopacy and Romanism assimilate. The differences are great as well as the resemblances. The error of the English Church in the present instance has been, as we have intimated, in narrowing down the limits of permitted opinion within her pale, so diminishing her honor as a catholic church, and confounding a return to doctrines and usages of the pure, original Church, with a return to doctrines and usages of the proper Roman Church, the Roman Church of the Council of Trent.

*Sonnets and other Poems.* By WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.  
Boston: Oliver Johnson. 1843.

THE pieces in this little volume are styled poems, and they are so, so far as capital letters at the beginning of each line and occasional rhymes may be thought to constitute poetry. In any rigid definition of poetry they would be depressed or elevated, as the reader's opinion may be, into prose. But though in our judgment there is no poetry in Mr. Garrison's lines, there is abundance of good thinking and useful moralizing. Indeed these sonnets and other pieces are little else than fragments of sermons, set off with the finery of measure and the jingle of rhyme. As one reads he is truly concerned to consider how much it takes to make a poet—how much learning there may be, how much taste, how much true observation and just thought, how much noble sentiment and religious aspiration, how much earnestness of purpose, enthusiasm of soul, and wide reaching love—and yet no poetry. There could hardly be poetry without some or all of these; but there may be all these, and yet alas, no poetry. Mr. Garrison is a remarkable man, as some judge a great man, but he is not a poet.

The piece on Christian Rest struck us as the best in the volume, and we offer a part of it.

“For what is rest? ’Tis not to be  
Half saint, half sinner, day by day;  
Half saved, half lost; half bound, half free;  
Half in the fold, and half astray;  
Faithless this hour, the next most true;  
Just half alive, half crucified;  
Half washed, and half polluted too;  
To Christ and Belial both allied!  
Now trembling at Mount Sinai’s base—  
Anon, on Calvary’s summit shouting;  
One instant, boasting of free grace—  
The next, God’s pardoning mercy doubting!  
Now sinning, now denouncing sin;  
Filled with alternate joy and sorrow;  
To-day, feel all renewed within,  
But fear a sad relapse to-morrow!  
All ardent now, and eloquent,  
And bold for God, with soul on fire;  
At once, complete extinguishment  
Ensues, and all its sparks expire!  
O, most unhappy of mankind!  
In thee what contradictions meet!  
Seeing thy way, yet groping blind!

Most conscientious, yet a cheat!  
 Allowing what thou dost abhor,  
 And hating what thou dost allow;  
 Dreaming of freedom by the law,  
 Yet held in bondage until now!  
 This is 'the old man with his deeds,'  
 Striving to do his very best:  
 'T is crucifixion that he needs —  
 Self-righteous, how can *he* know rest?  
 What then, *is* REST? It is to be  
 Perfect in love and holiness;  
 From sin eternally made free;  
 Not under law, but under grace;  
 Once cleansed from guilt, forever pure;  
 Once pardoned, ever reconciled;  
 Once healed, to find a perfect cure;  
 As JESUS blameless, undefiled;  
 Once saved, no more to go astray;  
 Once crucified, then always dead;  
 Once in the true and and living way,  
 True ever to our living Head;  
 Dwelling in God, and God in us;  
 From every spot and wrinkle clear;  
 Safely delivered from the curse;  
 Incapable of doubt or fear.  
 It is to have eternal life,  
 To follow where the Saviour trod;  
 To be removed from earthly strife —  
 Joint heirs with Christ — and sons of God!  
 Never from rectitude to swerve,  
 Though by the powers of hell pursued;  
 To consecrate, without reserve,  
 All we possess, in 'doing good.'  
 It is to glory in the Cross,  
 Endure reproach, despise the shame,  
 And wisely count as dung and dross,  
 All earthly grandeur, homage, fame;  
 To know the Shepherd of the sheep —  
 Be gentle, harmless, meek and lowly;  
 All joy, all hope, all peace — to keep,  
 Not one in seven, but all days holy!  
 It is to be all prayer and praise,  
 Not in set form or phrase expressed,  
 But ceaseless as angelic lays —  
*This, only this, is CHRISTIAN REST!*"

*The Eighth Report of the London Domestic Mission Society ; with the Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting, held in Carter Lane Chapel, April 27th, 1843. The Rules of the Society ; and a List of Officers and Members. London : Printed by Richard Kinder. 1843.*

WE are glad to know that while the ministry at large, according to the idea of Dr. Tuckerman, is nearly abandoned in this country, it is taking root and flourishes in Great Britain. In London, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Glasgow, the institution has found friends and support. The present is the eighth annual report of the London Mission, and exhibits the affairs of the institution in a promising state. The extracts given from the reports of the Ministers remind us of the reports of Dr. Tuckerman and Mr. Arnold, which it seems to us were eminently serviceable to the cause of humanity, by bringing well authenticated instances of suffering in full detail before the minds of the richer classes. They gave periodical information, that could be relied on, to one portion of society of the actual condition of another portion, about which, for the most part, without such information, they are necessarily as ignorant as they are of the condition of any remote people and region they personally never visit. Not only was valuable knowledge thus spread abroad of the statistics of poverty and suffering, but a medium of frequent and trustworthy communication was established between rich and poor of the utmost value to both classes. They were brought into each other's close neighborhood and made acquainted. The minister, one day in the dwellings of the poor, a witness of their sufferings, with knowledge, too, derived from personal intercourse, of the unavoidable calamities that plunged them into their poverty, was the next day at the table or in the parlor of the rich, a powerful, because an intelligent, pleader for the people of his charge. We cannot imagine a better plan for putting these two great classes of society on the best possible footing in relation to each other. The rich were then enabled to know, when they bestowed their charity, that it was placed in the hands of agents whose opportunities gave them a knowledge of objects truly worthy to receive it, and who could rarely be imposed upon. And, on the other side, the poor receiving from the rich their bounties but at second hand, and that second hand their minister and spiritual friend, were placed under no uneasy feeling of obligation, which so often interferes to neutralize the effect of a kind and charitable deed. We still think the device of Dr. Tuckerman the most perfect, and practicable as perfect,



ever conceived for the moral redemption, as well as the present immediate relief of the poor of cities. It is, we contend, within the power of each of our large towns to reach out a hand to every sinner, and to every sufferer, and impart the needed aid of both kinds, for soul and body, without bearing oppressively upon private wealth. But especially if our cities in their corporate capacity would, as they ought, contribute to this work, could it be easily accomplished; and not only would they have the satisfaction of thus furnishing every poor family and individual with a friend and teacher, but, which is the great argument for soulless corporations, they would save more in constables, alms house and prison board, than their charities would cost them, ten times told.

We have intimated above that the Ministry at Large, according to Dr. Tuckerman's idea, has declined or perished of late years. In Providence, we believe, there is a single minister. In Boston, we suppose we are correct in saying, there is now not one. The institution as at first established has so changed its character, that it can scarcely be said to exist. It has led to excellent and great results. The fraternity of Churches with their dependent societies is an admirable effect to have grown out of any cause. But these churches, with their large, well looking, and well dressed congregations, and their preaching ministers, are not the Ministry at Large. It is a ministry with its regularly attending assembly, for which a clergyman must make the same kind of preparation as for any other congregation; and he, who is required to do this from week to week, will not have the time to do much else. He cannot take care of his regular congregation and preach on Sunday to six hundred hearers, and be Dr. Tuckerman on the other six days of the week, abroad on the highways and bye-ways of life—in garret, cellar, alley, and lane. He necessarily becomes a sermon writer—a closet man. This is all excellent in its way; large and well established societies have been gathered, nearly or quite able to take care of themselves, at any rate able to do something for the support of religious institutions, as well as for themselves.

Dr. Tuckerman's Ministry chiefly contemplates a very different class, and the performance of very different duties. It is primarily a Ministry of Visitation—a system of active search into the regions of vice and poverty, a thorough beating up of the haunts of the wretched, a pursuing and finding them in their own homes, and almost by violence redeeming them into the Kingdom of God. Only in quite a subordinate sense is it a preaching ministry. It addresses itself to those chiefly, who cannot go out to churches or chapels, and whose gospel must be

preached to them, if they are ever to hear it by their own bed-sides, in their loneliness and want. There are whole streets and lanes of houses in Boston, whose inhabitants never see the inside of a church, nor can. Their wickedness and their rags, sometimes one, sometimes the other, and often both, keep them away. These are the subjects of the Tuckerman ministry, the lost sheep forgotten of all others, it is its purpose to bring into the fold, — to be sought after diligently in the waste places where they have strayed away. Not that much is not done here already in many ways and by various instruments, but that a vast deal is not done, and cannot be done but by some such provision as is made by this ministry. It is impossible that the minister, whose duty it is every week to prepare for preaching twice or three times on Sunday to the large congregations that gather together in these free churches, whose duty and wish it must be also to cultivate a personal acquaintance with the families constituting such societies, should have either time or strength to look up and look after those poorer classes, who must be visited from house to house, and who need the sympathy and personal attentions and counsel of a friend, and the relief of pressing temporal wants, more than they do the preached word.

We hope that while the fraternity of churches continues to sustain its present dependent societies, in whose prosperity we heartily rejoice, they or some other association will re-institute the proper ministry at large. It will be a cause of deep regret if this ministry, in the place of its birth, should be suffered to perish.

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1. *Two Discourses occasioned by the approaching Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Delivered June 25, A. M., and July 2, A. M., 1843.* By W. H. FURNES, Pastor. Philadelphia, 1843. 8vo. pp. 23.
  2. *A Sermon of Slavery, delivered January 31, 1841, repeated June 4, 1843, and now published by request.* By THEODORE PARKER, Minister of the Second Church in Roxbury. Boston: Printed by Thurston and Torrey. 1843. 12mo. pp. 24.
  3. *Caste and Slavery in the American Church.* By a Churchman. Upright men shall be astonished at this.—JOB. New York and London: Wiley and Putnam. 1843. 8vo. pp. 50.

WE are glad to perceive that any parishes are willing to hear discourses on slavery. It is wonderful that any should be unwilling to hear that treated among the other great evils that

afflict humanity, which, next to intemperance, is the greatest. Yet here politics are so mixed up with great moral questions, that we are not disposed to judge harshly, when, for its political bearings chiefly or wholly, congregations object to its discussion in the pulpit. And while we honor the people who freely give up this with every other topic to be handled by their minister according to his own sense of duty, we cannot but think that where a temper of violent hostility is known to exist in a congregation to the introduction of the subject on the Sunday, the more judicious course for the minister, and the more Christian, is to forbear on that day, and at the hour of the proper service, to discuss a theme that will not be listened to with calmness or profit; nay, which it is certain will rouse the worst passions of the heart. The other six days are before him. Let him choose and announce his times for anti-slavery preaching, and then with an audience kindly disposed toward him and his subject, willing and eager to hear, resorted to, if he is a man of force, doubtless by numbers, who are hostile or doubting, but ready to be persuaded by sound reason, he could gather a larger harvest of converts than he could ever have made on the Sunday forcing system. If on such occasion he could not gather an audience, we think it would at once settle the question as to the propriety or use of preaching upon the subject to his Sunday hearers.

But while we judge it right that there should be this mutual consent before the subject in question can with any advantage be brought into the pulpit — and it is mere sophistry which shall say that therefore in the matter of any other sin the minister must wait for consent to introduce it — we think that in every form of periodicals, especially in those of a religious character, is found the legitimate field for this and all great disputed questions of the kind. Here the remedy is always at hand in the case of every individual subscriber — he can stop the offensive work. True, he may also leave his church when the preacher offends. But that is an evil to an individual and a family of a totally different kind from losing the perusal of a newspaper or review. The periodical accordingly is the proper medium of communication with the public on a subject like this; and, in the case of a religious periodical, it comes legitimately within its province, even in all its political and other connections and entanglements. It is with this feeling of its intrinsic propriety that the subject of slavery has been introduced again of late into the *Examiner*; and though we have meant to give it no undue or disproportioned prominence, and, were the work to continue in our hands, it would never receive more than its just share of attention, yet we have thought it a duty to give to a cause like this, the great cause

of humanity, whatever moral influence would belong to an earnest expression of our opinions. The least that a journal like this can do, the least that any periodical pretending to any name that implies a connection with religion and morals can do, is to set its face indignantly against this enormous evil, which nothing but the force of heart-hardening custom allows us to treat in any other way than with the most open hostility. The Christian Examiner, into whosoever hands it may fall — not now, we are compelled to prophecy, into the hands lately so ready to receive it, and in whose management it would have preserved a front no less decided than it now bears on this question — will always, we trust, be found ranged on the side of humanity as well as that of religion, if we must consider them as different. And we hope that whenever the day shall come that it hesitates to assail boldly, yet temperately, and in a spirit of justice to all, great social and national crimes and evils, it may on that day close its mean and degraded life.

We cannot notice as we could wish the pamphlets at the head of this article. But they have already been widely read, and are well worthy the names of their distinguished authors.

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*Thirty Years' Ministry. Two Sermons, preached in Dover, Massachusetts, September 18, 1842. By RALPH SANGER, A. M., Pastor of the First Church in Dover. Published by request. Boston : 8vo. pp. 24.*

THE author of these discourses, early distinguished as a scholar — having borne away from Cambridge the first honors of the class of 1808 — was ordained over the parish in Dover, within five years after leaving College, one of those years having been passed as tutor in the University. In these days of frequent change, Mr. Sanger's ministry may be cited as an example of steadfastness worthy of all honor, the present being, as the title page informs us, its thirtieth year. The succeeding pages declare these thirty years to have been happy, prosperous, the minister contented with his post and people, the people contented and happy in their minister. These Sermons are little more than a sort of parish record, giving the reader, in language of the most unstudied simplicity, to behold, as in a moving picture, the procession of events as they befall in the life of a country clergyman. They seem in the present instance to be no other than the events which must happen to every incumbent of a parish

alike,—parishioners came and went, they married, and their children were baptized, they were in affliction, they died, and were buried. Yet in the narrow circle of these events is there experienced all the pain and all the joy of human life, and it is for these the pastor is sent and ministers as a Son of Consolation. Happy the people whose minister, as in the present instance, is satisfied with the honor that comes of the performance of such humble offices—humble as the world deems them, high and divine, in a juster estimate. Long as this ministry has continued, the age and the present vigorous health of the Pastor give the best reason to hope, that it may still be extended through a yet longer period of useful labor in the cause of his Master.

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*A Sermon preached in King's Chapel, August 6, 1843, the Sunday after the Funeral of the Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D.* By N. L. FROTHINGHAM, Minister of the First Church. Boston : Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1843. 8vo. pp. 27.

FAILING to procure an original notice of the life and character of Mr. Greenwood for the present number of the Examiner, we lay aside the matter that had been prepared, that we may set before our readers as much of the discourse of Mr. Frothingham delivered on the Sunday succeeding the funeral, as we can find room for. We regret not to have been able to offer an original memoir of one so distinguished in our Theology and our Literature, and who for a period of eight years was one of the editors of this Journal. We hope in a future number to do what at present was impossible. In the mean while we make large extracts from the Sermon of Dr. Frothingham, which for its truth and beauty, its exact discrimination and comprehensiveness, possesses a permanent value as a tribute to the memory of one whom all delighted to honor while he lived, and desire to see worthily commemorated now that he is dead. But much as has been said by the preacher in these few pages, much more remains to be said. And we hope that by the same hand the brief sketches of this Sermon (and a former criticism on the writings of Mr. Greenwood) may be thrown together and expanded into a biography, that shall do full and exact justice to a character, that of the class, to which it belonged, was an almost faultless example.

The discourse is from the words, I. Kings xiii, 31. "When I am dead, then bury me in the sepulchre wherein the man of

God is buried." After a few introductory sentences Mr. Frothingham proceeds;

"But two days ago, his wasted form was brought here for the last religious offices, where he was wont to come in all the stages of his life; where he worshipped as a boy, and I was a witness how seriously; and where he preached the truths of the divine gospel with a chaste zeal, and a clear reason, and a deeply moved spirit, and a pathetic sweetness, of which you all were the witnesses, and of which there are but rare examples. Alas, that his eloquent tongue must have been thus mute in the assembly of his people! He was buried according to his own direction, given with his characteristic simplicity. There was found among his papers, not till the second day after his departure, one that bore the plain inscription, 'My Funeral.' With the even and sedate hand that corresponded well with the mind that dictated it, it enjoined that there should be no deviation from the common service of the church; but expressed a preference that instead of the funeral hymn there might be the chanting of the psalm, which begins, 'The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want,' and goes on with the devout confidence, 'though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil,' and closes in an almost triumphant tone, 'I shall dwell in the house of the Lord forever;' — that house which has many mansions, eternal in the heavens. Was not this as if he desired, in the immediate prospect of his dissolution, and even with his dead lips, to utter his sense of the experience he had enjoyed of the divine goodness? 'I would,' it goes on, 'that not a word should be said concerning what may be considered my character or deservings, at that solemn hour, when in the house of God and presence of his holiness my poor remains are waiting to be consigned to the earth. Let the voice of the church only be heard in those words, mostly from sacred scripture, which are used in our mother country impartially for prince and peasant, and which are certainly sufficient for me.' That restriction is now taken off. I cannot stand in this shrouded pulpit, that has been his for these nineteen years, and not speak of him. These mournful draperies insist upon their subject. You have come to hear some feeble tribute to so strong a character and so dear a memory. Only let me speak with that sober regard to the unexaggerated truth, which was so fixed a principle in him. I should be afraid of offending his shade by a single word of indiscriminate eulogy, or rhetorical artifice, or overstrained description." — pp. 8, 9, 10.

The preacher goes on to speak next of Mr. Greenwood's deep sensibility to all outward objects of beauty in nature and in art.

"My mind returns to the affecting scene that was so lately presented in this house of your devotions. The eyes that you there saw closed had once a sensibility, more than is given to most men, to all that was admirable in art and nature, to all the forms of sublimity and beauty, whether wrought by the hands of man or displayed in the universe of the Almighty. The heavens and the earth and the sea were objects of his careful study and unwearied delight. They were not to him a mere show and wonder. He did not look at them with a transient curiosity or a superficial pleasure, but with the vision of his highest

sentiments, with a philosophic understanding and a devout heart. They were fraught with divine meanings for him. He loved to enrich his meditations with the thoughts that their varied spectacle was always revealing to his search. He endeavored to draw both knowledge and spiritual improvement from those pure sources; — the first if he could find the opportunity, and the last by all means. He took science with him when she was willing to come, and placed her on his left hand; but his religious feelings were his guides always, and led on at the right. His soul was engaged and affected by what he beheld among the minutest and the grandest of the works of his own Creator. And when he perceived any copies and distant imitations of what was done by that heavenly hand in the productions of human skill and genius, when he gazed on the buildings and the monuments that are connected with patriotism or piety, that embody lofty conceptions or display virtuous impulses, he was touched with that also, and glowed with thankfulness to Him, who had given such an ability and such a disposition to his poor brother man. And what he thus saw, you know with what peculiar felicity he could describe. What he thus learned he was always ready in the most finished manner to communicate. His invalid state, which began so long as twenty-three years ago, while he was the youthful minister of another congregation, led him to seek for health in different parts of his own country, on the southern coasts of his mother land which he deeply venerated, and among the islands of a still warmer sea. Wherever he went, he carried the same spirit of observation and sensibility; he brought back new treasures of instruction for himself and others. The ocean by which he sat he made to murmur in many ears beside his own with the praise of God. The cataract, whose mighty falls he contemplated with an emotion that would not let him be silent, he made to sound the same ascription within these very walls; and it was almost as good and elevating to hear his lips tell of it as to listen to the deep hymn itself of those eternal waters. From the tropical skies, under which he dwelt for a few months, and where a languid frame would have seemed to conspire with the summer air to demand repose, his quiet diligence brought home something for his pulpit and something for his scientific friends; at the same time valuable contributions to Natural History, and lessons of a kind wisdom which none knew better than he how to recommend. I see him also on the seaside of Devonshire, gathering minute specimens from its beach, and worshipping in the humble chapel that looked but like a moss-covered cottage in contrast with the noble church of the establishment that reared its grey tower in the neighborhood. His own expression to an eminent English divine was, that he loved it as 'a sacred relic of men's hands embowered in the green of nature;' and I read among his published pieces a sentence respecting it, which is too characteristic of his delicate and generous temper to allow of its omission. 'I went there while I remained,' he says, 'and should have done so had I remained till this time. I have no idea of deserting our friends, because they assemble under simple thatch, instead of under groined stone; — though I also think,' he adds, 'that I should have been cheerfully willing to pay my tithes, for the pleasure of looking at that old church, and walking through that old churchyard.' Pardon me, my hearers, if I appear to have dwelt disproportionately long upon

this part of the tastes and character of the friend we have lost. Could I have alluded to it at all, and said less? — pp. 10 – 14.

Of the “feelings, the sensitive nature,” and the religious character of Mr. Greenwood, he says what will approve itself to all who knew him.

“Shall I venture to speak, as if under a separate department, of the feelings, the sensitive nature, of your lamented pastor? Certainly no one could, or ought, but with a reserved tongue. Nor should I, but that there seemed much that distinguished him in their character and expression. They united great strength and fervor with an extraordinary tranquillity. They were alive to every touch. They took an eager interest in whatever related to sacred principles or human welfare. They were full of harmonies with the surrounding world. They were quick to kindle or to melt, as anything occurred to rouse a righteous displeasure or to appeal to the softest sympathies. But yet they broke out into no excess, and they sunk down into no weariness. You always found him prudent, measured, calm. A spirit of control seemed to be constantly upon him. It looked out from his thoughtful eyes, and impressed itself upon his whole demeanor. I do not remember him when he was easily moved to mirth, though he had a keen relish for all innocent joy; nor to anger, though he knew well how to resent and what to resent; nor to tears, though he was tenderly constructed, and made many tears start at the pathos of his affectionate word, while he kept his own below the brim of their fountain. And whence came this spirit of control? I think from a contemplative disposition, that had always made serious estimates of life and of the duties and objects of living; and that had been trained by the various discipline of a delicate if not a suffering frame, to look closely at the transiency of mortal things, and to feel the necessity of a curbed will, and to fix its trust upon the promises of God. He was penetrated with moral and religious persuasions, that were too habitual to be ever uneven, and too profound to show any tumultuous sign of themselves as they flowed on. He was eminently, though with the most silent modesty, a devout man. Unconsciously and without effort he was so, as if a heavenly responsibility and hope were the breath of his nostrils. He lived in that undisturbed air. His faith was not a transient visiter, coming and going, visible at intervals, and noisy at the gate; but it abode in him as a child of the house. It was this that so subdued him under each passing event, and prepared him constantly for every event that was to betide. From hence came the composure which was never indifference, that preserved him so steady under the attacks of an insidious disease, and made the years of his sinking strength and unruffled endeavors so many, and so useful, and so blessed as they were. His remarkable purity from the stain of this world must have been evident to all who enjoyed his intercourse. He seemed to stand aloof from every contamination. The thought of sin was a grief to him. I recollect hearing him, many years ago, discourse upon the beatitude of “the pure in heart,” and thinking, as I heard, few were so likely as himself to inherit the blessing that he described, and to “see God.”



In words that live and breathe with truth does Dr. Frothingham describe the "manners" of Mr. Greenwood.

"In his manners it was impossible not to mark the most entire plainness and frankness. They were so wanting in all artifice that a stranger might have called them uncourtly. They were so free from sycophancy, as to seem sometimes hard. They were so restrained by the reflective habit of his mind as to appear sometimes cold. But these appearances vanished from him when one became no longer a stranger. There was a certain delicacy in all his sentiments, and a benevolence of heart, that would never suffer him to be harsh or insensible. His was a truly Christian urbanity. He did not profess more than he believed. He did not declare more than he felt. He did not show more than was real. He was not one to prefer a courtesy to a duty; though he observed, as the apostle has enjoined, the duty of being courteous. His look always matched his thought, and his word came straight from his conviction. Sincerity was bound visibly upon his open brow like a written phylactery. He had as little respect for subterfuges as he had occasion for any. Within was no guile. Without was no assumption. His communication was simple, direct, faithful, as his whole character was consistently grave and earnest.

#### The theology of Mr. Greenwood.

In his opinions, he loved to be settled. He studied that there should be some fixture in them. He was unwilling to be doubtful. He would have been unhappy to waver. He dreaded being carried about on any important subject as the wind prevailed. He sought to be assured. He set out his judgments carefully, and then allowed them to take their root. He was not anxious, like many, to disturb them continually in order to see if they were in a good condition. While he was candid and charitable towards the views of others, he held his own in unshaken honor. He was ready at all times to listen to any new arguments that might be brought against the justness of his belief; but he was not ready to be always putting it to the question as a suspicious thing. This would have been to render his belief no belief, but only a flickering assent or a flimsy conjecture. At least, he thought so. He wanted a foundation, and must have it; and he laid it with pains and circumspection, as that upon which he was to build his safety. The skeptical, and the vascillating, and they who are easily caught by the show of some new thing, might have found fault with him here as too precise, perhaps as too pertinacious. But it was a demand of his nature to know where he stood, and to be able to stand confidently.

As a theologian, he was an independent but humble inquirer. You might infer that he would be so from what has already been indicated as the character of his mind. He was a reverent searcher of the Scriptures; a reverent observer of those works and providences of God which are 'a part of his word.' Reverence was one of the leading traits of his spirit. He never lost in the office of a teacher the feeling of a disciple. He sought nothing so assiduously as the truth. He prized nothing so highly as the truth. He loved nothing so well as the truth. He was willing to follow it wherever it led. He did not

care to count what it might cost. He was thoroughly persuaded of the inestimable value of the religious views that he had embraced. He recommended them with a solemn ardor. His preference was for the 'old paths.' Novelties in religion had no attraction for him. He venerated the sacred bequests of the generations that have gone before us. Though not servile to antiquity, he saw more and more in it as he grew older to win his respect and to meet his sympathies. He rejected nothing with a quicker or a more offended determination than the modern refinements and latitudes, that with a parade of spirituality scoff at ancient forms and outward testimonies, and with the prate of freedom do what they can to break off the yoke of a gospel belief. He was firmly conservative. He shrunk from the skeptical tendencies of the age. He hoped for nothing good, he anticipated only the most disastrous evils, from the pretended religious philosophies of fashionable innovation. His doctrine he connected rigorously with what he found in his Bible; with its historians and prophets and apostles, and above all with the inspired authority of the Saviour himself, who is 'the head over all things to the church.' From the holy volume, and not from his own conjecture or fancy, he drew the arguments with which he would impress others, and the lessons by which he would educate himself. To the Liturgy of this church, and to the faith which for these so many years has been inculcated within its walls, his attachment constantly increased till the day when every tie that attached him to the earth was severed. But the faith of our friend did not chiefly delight in definitions or dogmas of any kind. He was solicitous rather about its genuine fruits. His was eminently a faith of the affections. It nourished his sensibilities more than it encouraged his speculations. Though he distinguished himself as a controversial writer, taking an active part with those among us who have vindicated the claims of a liberal theology, yet it was from no pride of opinion or fondness for debate, but because he saw that this theology and they who held it were assailed with the bitterest uncharitableness; and because it was dear to him, as he conceived it to be the true interpretation of 'the mind of Christ,' and the most favorable to the virtue and happiness of mankind. For his own part, he loved to look away beyond all the divisions that keep men's kindness from one another, — to repose upon his own peaceful persuasions, to believe with his heart." — pp. 19–23.

We have given to the reader half of Dr. Frothingham's sermon; our only regret is that we have not room for the whole. It is a discourse as remarkable for the absolute truth of its delineations, as for the unequalled art with which they are presented to the mind of the reader.

THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

NOVEMBER, 1843.

THE EARLY LITERARY HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

NO. IV.

THE FIRST DISTINCT NOTICES OF CHRISTIANITY BY HEATHEN  
WRITERS.

THE next division of our remarks upon the general subject of the Early History of Christianity, leads us to review the explicit statements which are found in the first classical writings where our religion and its disciples are noticed.

Two of the most valuable and interesting writers of ancient Rome, whose works are preserved to us, are Tacitus and the younger Pliny. Their testimony to Christianity is of the highest importance; and neither the most searching scrutiny of Christians, nor the most daring skepticism of unbelievers, has been able to invalidate the proud arguments for our faith which we found upon it. These two authors were most intimate friends, and revised each other's writings before publication. Pliny was born in the year 61 or 62. We do not know the year when Tacitus was born; but as Pliny, in a letter to him (*Lib. vii. Ep. 20.*) says that he, Tacitus, was already flourishing in fame and distinction, while his friend was but a youth, we conclude that Tacitus was some years older than Pliny, — that he was born before or about A. D. 50. In the year 78, Tacitus married the daughter of Agricola, the famous Roman Consul and Governor of Britain. Tacitus filled several offices of distinguished honor and trust under various emperors. He wrote an account of Germany, and a *Life of Agricola*, to-

gether with several books of annals, extending from the accession of Augustus, A. D. 14, to the death of Nero, A. D. 68,— besides a history from the accession of Galba, A. D. 68, to the death of Domitian, A. D. 96. Both these latter works are very imperfect. The first five books of his annals are preserved entire, and other five are missing; after which we have the continuation; and it is here that the famous and invaluable passage occurs, which he little thought, when he wrote it, would be so much esteemed by Christians. Here is a good opportunity to repeat a remark which we have before made. This passage has been preserved in its proper connection, as we say in common phrase, by mere accident. Friends and foes, time and decay, have spared it, while other portions of the author's works are lost, it may be irrecoverably. Many Christians have propped up a tottering faith by reading this passage, because it has afforded them so clear, distinct, and undeniable testimony, that in the year 63 the Christians were found in Rome in great numbers, were treated with dire and fiendish cruelty, and in their worst sufferings found the faith, the doctrine, and the example of their Master sufficient. It is natural for all of us to find comfort and strength in such historical testimony. Christianity must be sustained by historical verifications. But such verifications are not to be sought for only in the express notices of the beginning and progress of our faith from authors who, for various reasons, had given it no attention. The existence of the Christian records and the Christian church,—the necessity of admitting a beginning to the faith which is now triumphant and unassailable,—these are the larger historical verifications of Christianity. The allusions to it in the works of heathen authors, the mistaken superficial views which they accidentally present of it, are merely incidental and occasional. They join in here and there upon the great unbroken chain of evidence, and sometimes double its links. The history of Christianity would not have been a whit less true, if Tacitus had never written the passage we are now to read; and if, after he had written it, the part of his works which contained it had been lost, as are other parts, we might have lamented the absence from his writings of any confirmatory evidence of our faith, but we could not on that account have been justified in doubting the mass of evidence which we possess. We must establish in our minds this legitimate principle of reasoning. Accident, as we say, has preserved the passage of Tacitus; accident then

might have lost it. There may be other passages of equal value in the portions of his works which are lost. What then? There are Christians, Christian records, and a Christian church. Where did they come from? The answer to that question leads along the direct chain of historical evidence, from our own time, back to the origin of Christianity. The passages from heathen writers, which we are now to quote, are to be regarded as incidental allusions to Christianity, as for one moment and no longer it arrested the attention of men, who probably never entertained a thought about investigating its history or character.

Tacitus wrote about A. D. 100, — certainly not later. In the year of Christ 63, one year after Paul had left Rome to pursue his Apostolic journies, Nero was Emperor of Rome; he had come to supreme power in the year 54, at the age of 17; consequently in the year 63 he was 26 years old. He was one of the foulest monsters that ever polluted a throne. By the assistance of his mother he poisoned the son of her husband, and afterwards put her to death, as he did also his tutors, Burrhus and Seneca, his two wives, one of whom was the daughter of his adopted father, and the poet Lucan, with many others of lesser note. He disgraced himself by performing in the public theatres, having soldiers stationed as spies among the spectators, to inform him of any who passed unfavorable criticisms upon him. He said he was willing to be hated, if he could only be feared. His extravagance was unbounded; his sensuality disgusting and revolting. Though he maintained a sort of influence over the people, by distributing bribes and means of pleasure, he was hated as a monster. The Senate at last revolted and took part in the conspiracies against him. To avoid the fate which he knew awaited him, he committed suicide, in the year 68, his death being followed by popular manifestations of joy.

In the year 63, there occurred in Rome the most awful and devastating conflagration ever recorded to have happened in a time of peace. Four of the Roman writers give an account of it as unparalleled in memory or example,—Tacitus, Suetonius, Dion Cassius, and Orosius. The fire continued nine days, during which the most splendid monuments, temples, and works of Grecian and Roman art, were crumbled into black ruins. The city was then divided into fourteen wards; of these three were entirely destroyed, seven were reduced to a melancholy condition of partial desolation, and only four escaped without

injury. The government took active measures for the relief of the sufferers, erecting temporary sheds, distributing corn and provisions, and opening the gardens of the Emperor as a common shelter. The city was subsequently rebuilt, in a more regular, commodious, and magnificent style. But before a thought of restoration had been cherished, in the midst of the agonies and the melancholy havoc of the desolation, the busy tongue of rumor was speculating upon the authors of the conflagration. Amid the ruins of heathen splendor, the first general persecution of the disciples of Jesus Christ was devised. The people were determined to discover the cause of the calamity. First they had recourse to the temples of their gods, as Tacitus informs us; they presented oblations and offerings to Vulcan, Ceres, and Proserpine; Juno was propitiated by the Roman matrons, the Sibylline books were consulted, but all to no purpose. Rumor accused Nero himself of having set fire to the city, either that he might exercise his extravagant fondness for sumptuous edifices by rebuilding it, or that he might enjoy the scene as a fair representation of the flames of Troy. The monster was thought to be every way capable of the deed, for no cruelty or sin had as yet found him unwilling to be tempted. It was observed too that he was lavish in distributing relief to the people. He led them to the temples, and told them to appease the anger of the gods. We can now take the words of Tacitus as to what followed.

“But neither all human help, nor the liberality of the Emperor, nor all the atonements presented to the gods, availed to abate the infamy he lay under of having ordered the city to be set on fire. To suppress therefore this common rumor, Nero procured others to be accused, and inflicted exquisite punishment upon those people, who were in abhorrence for their crimes, and were commonly known by the name of Christians. They had their denomination from Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius was put to death as a criminal by the Procurator, Pontius Pilate. This pernicious superstition, though checked for a while, broke out again, and spread, not only over Judea, the source of this evil, but reached the city also; whither flow from all quarters all things vile and shameful, and where they find shelter and encouragement. At first they only were apprehended who confessed themselves of that sect; afterwards a vast multitude discovered by them; all which were condemned, not so much for the crime of burning the city as for their enmity to mankind. Their executions were so contrived as to

expose them to derision and contempt. Some were covered over with the skins of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by dogs; some were crucified; others, having been daubed over with combustible materials, were set up as lights in the night time, and thus burned to death. Nero made use of his own gardens as a theatre upon this occasion, and also exhibited the diversions of the circus, sometimes standing in the crowd as a spectator, in the habit of a charioteer; at other times driving a chariot himself; till at length these men, though really criminal and deserving exemplary punishment, began to be commiserated as people who were destroyed, not out of a regard to the public welfare, but only to gratify the cruelty of one man."

Such is the remarkable passage, the genuineness of which no skeptic or unbeliever ever presumed to question. Indeed the contents of the passage would afford full evidence of their author. It is written in the beautiful style of Tacitus, in his own classic language, with the mixture of philosophy and fact in the composition of history for which he is remarkable. Moreover the most untrue, superficial, and strange idea, which the author of this passage must have had of Christianity, is precisely in accordance with that which Tacitus, a proud and distinguished man, the companion of Emperors, the Consul, and the superintendent of pagan sacrificial rites, would have formed of Christianity.

What a mass of evidence and of valuable information is gathered in this passage! It asserts the execution of Christ by Pontius Pilate, — the perpetuation of his name and sentiments among his followers, — the prevalence of the faith in Judea where it arose, and its wide dissemination, in spite of the ignominious death of its author and the resistance of authority to his religion, — that Christians were generally hated, — that they were so numerous at Rome, during the year 63, as to serve as victims of popular fury for popular suffering. Tacitus likewise bears witness to the awful sufferings of the Christians, and says nothing of their resistance or complaints. More than all, Tacitus adds that their sufferings excited compassion, and were believed to be not so much the punishment of guilt, as the inflictions of cruelty. Tacitus says Nero was absent from Rome at Antium, on the sea coast, about thirty miles distant, when the fire broke out. This, however, would not disprove the charge against him of having employed incendiaries. He returned in season to see his own palace fall before the flames.

As the murderer of his nearest relatives and friends, and then of himself, he was well fitted for the deed, and after he had done it, he might well charge it upon the Christians.

A few remarks may be made upon this passage from Tacitus. The Christians, he says, were "a people held in abhorrence for their crimes," "their religion was a pernicious superstition." We may smile at such a description, from a votary of heathenism, of the religion of the New Testament. All that we need say is, that it is an evidence how little he knew of it. As for the crimes which he speaks of, he speaks only from common report; he utters the popular opinion of his day and nation concerning the Christians—that in their secret midnight worship they were guilty of impiety toward the Roman deities—they sacrificed infants—they formed pledges of fellowship in sin—they introduced a new God, viz. Christus—they hated all men, i. e. they abstained from the common heathen amusements, games, drinking ceremonies, &c.; they would not bow before the statues of the deities, nor throw incense upon their altars. Such were the crimes which rumor charged upon the Christians. "They came likewise from Judea"—the home of a despicable race—the hot-bed of sedition and impiety, as the Romans thought. Yet they did not keep friendship with their own countrymen—the Jews,—but were in contest with them as with the rest of the world. Their doctrine had been checked for a while, says Tacitus, viz. by the crucifixion of Christ; but in spite of this they had spread even to Rome. When Nero ventured to shift from himself to the Christians the odium of the awful calamity, he probably knew that popular fury could easily be turned against them. It was not simply that they were a foreign sect. There were many foreign sects in Rome; but these were well known, and had all of them common points in form and tenet. The Christians were a new sect, and had no single point in common with the idolaters around them. The evidence of more than one Christian writer would have been thought necessary to confirm such an account of their savage treatment by Nero. But Tacitus leads the long list of those who have referred to it, with his explicit and undeniable testimony. On the spot where Nero thus set on fire his innocent victims, the historian tells us, were his own imperial circus and gardens, and there now stands the Church of St. Peter, an imperishable monument of the faith, which there entrusted its life and honor to a few feeble



men and women, but lately cleansed from the slime of heathenism, yet made strong in the love and hope of Christian converts.

There is another statement in the works of Tacitus worthy of brief notice. He gives a slight sketch of the Jewish war, and of the destruction of Jerusalem. In the midst of the factions which prevailed in the devoted city, he says:—"There were many prodigies for signifying their ruin, which were not to be averted by all the sacrifices and vows of that people, superstitious in their own way of worship, though different from all others. Armies were seen fighting in the air with brandished weapons. A fire fell upon the Temple from the clouds. Its doors were suddenly opened. At the same time there was a loud voice declaring that the gods were removing, which was accompanied with a sound as of a multitude going out. All which things were supposed by some to portend great calamities. But the most had a strong persuasion, that it was said in the ancient writings of the priests, that at that very time the East should prevail, and that some who came from Judea should obtain the empire of the world." An allusion to the general expectation of the Messiah.

Martial, a distinguished writer of epigrams, and an intimate acquaintance of the learned men of the time of Nero and thirty years afterwards, was born in Spain, and is supposed to have been in Rome while Nero reigned. He is thought to refer to the patient suffering of the Christians, while being rolled up in sheets covered with pitch they were burnt. He says:—"You have perhaps lately seen acted in the theatre, Mucius, who thrust his hand into the fire. If you think such an one valiant and stout, you are a mere dotard. For it is a much greater thing when threatened with a pitch coat, to say, 'I do not sacrifice,' than to obey the command, 'burn the hand.'"

Juvenal, a Latin poet who flourished about A. D. 100, is supposed to refer to the Christians in these lines, describing their punishment. "Describe a great villain, like Tigellinus, (a servant of Nero,) and you shall suffer the same punishment with those who stand burning in their own flame, with a stake under their chin, and a stream of blood and sulphur running from them."

Suetonius, the author of the lives of the first twelve Cæsars, flourished in the reign of Trajan and afterwards, and wrote about A. D. 110.—He was a friend and correspondent of the younger Pliny. In his life of the Emperor Claudius,

who reigned from A. D. 41 to 54, he says : — “ He banished the Jews from Rome, who were continually making disturbances, Chrestus being their leader.” He here confounds the Jews and Christians, and misnames the Messiah. We read in the Acts, (xviii. 2,) that “ Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome.”

In his life of Nero, he says : — “ The Christians were punished, a sort of men of a new and magical superstition.”

In his life of Vespasian, speaking of the Jewish war, he says : — “ There had been for a long time all over the East a prevailing opinion, that it was in the fates that at that time some one from Judea should obtain the empire of the world.”

The next author, whose works afford to us a most valuable testimony to early Christianity, is the younger Pliny, the nephew and adopted son of the elder Pliny. His uncle was a Roman knight, born at Verona, a distinguished lawyer, scholar, and naturalist. He lost his life by his eagerness to observe the famous eruption of Vesuvius, A. D. 79, which destroyed Pompeii and Herculaneum. His nephew observed it at a distance, but would not accompany his uncle, who was found near the sea shore suffocated by the sulphurous vapor. His nephew was born at Como, A. D. 62. He was likewise distinguished for his attainments. He was prætor, præfect, augur, consul, and about A. D. 106 was appointed by the Emperor Trajan, Governor of Pontus in Bithynia, south of the Euxine Sea, where he remained nearly two years. With all his cultivation and knowledge, he was profoundly superstitious, either from sincere belief, or from affected reverence. His works abound with devout addresses to the gods, and to the divine guardians of the Roman Empire. He sent a curious relic, a statue of brass, which he had purchased at some cost, not to a museum, but to be deposited in a Temple of Jupiter in his native city. He erected and consecrated temples. In a letter to a friend, who was sent to Achaia, he says : — “ You will consider yourself as sent to that noble province of Achaia, the true original Greece. Revere the gods, their founders, those venerable deities. Respect the ancient glory of this people. Pay a regard to their antiquity, to their noble exploits, and even to their fictions.” Pliny sought of Trajan the office of augur, or priest — which obliged him to lead the sacrifices, to interpret dreams and prodigies, and to make predictions. He approved of gladiatorial shows. Trajan likewise had many good points, but he was superstitious, and not strictly moral.

Of the works of Pliny there are preserved to us ten books of letters, and a panegyric upon Trajan. In the tenth book of his letters we find his correspondence with the Emperor. The other letters are addressed to Tacitus, Suetonius, and other distinguished men of the time. They are of a high character.

The following is his remarkable Letter to the Emperor:—

“ It is my constant custom, Sir, to refer myself to you in all matters concerning which I have any doubt. For who can better direct me where I hesitate, or instruct me where I am ignorant? I have never been present at any trials of Christians; so that I know not well what is the subject-matter of punishment, or of inquiry, or what strictness ought to be used in either. Nor have I been a little perplexed to determine whether any difference ought to be made on account of age, or whether the young and tender, and the full grown and robust, ought to be treated all alike; whether repentance should entitle to pardon, or whether all who have once been Christians ought to be punished, though they are now no longer so; whether the name itself, although no crimes be detected, or crimes only belonging to the name, ought to be punished. Concerning all these things I am in doubt. In the mean time I have taken this course with all who have been brought before me, and have been accused as Christians. I have put the question to them, whether they were Christians. Upon their confessing to me that they were, I repeated the question a second and a third time, threatening also to punish them with death. Such as still persisted, I ordered away to be punished; for there was no doubt with me, whatever might be the nature of their opinion, that contumacy and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished. There were others of the same infatuation, whom, because they are Roman citizens, I have noted down to be sent to the city. In a short time, the crime spreading itself, even whilst under persecution, as is usual in such cases, divers sorts of people came in my way. An information was presented to me, without mentioning the author, containing the names of many persons, who upon examination denied that they were Christians, or had ever been so; who repeated after me an invocation of the gods, and with wine and frankincense made supplication to your image, which for that purpose I have caused to be brought and set before them, together with the statues of deities. Moreover they reviled the name of Christ. None of which things, as is said, they, who are really Christians, can by any means be compelled to do. These therefore I thought proper to discharge.

Others were named by an informer, who at first confessed themselves Christians, and afterwards denied it. The rest said they had been Christians but had left them, some three years ago, some longer, and one, or more, above twenty years. They all worshipped your image, and the statues of the gods; these also reviled Christ. They affirmed that the whole of their fault, or error, lay in this, that they were wont to meet together on a stated day before it was light, and sing among themselves alternately a hymn to Christ, as a god, and bind themselves by an oath, not to the commission of any wickedness, but not to be guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them, when called upon to return it. When these things were performed, it was their custom to separate, and then to come together again to a meal, which they ate in common, without any disorder; but this they had forborne since the publication of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I prohibited assemblies. After receiving this account, I judged it the more necessary to examine, and that by torture, two maid servants, which were called ministers; but I have discovered nothing, beside a bad and excessive superstition.

Suspending, therefore, all judicial proceedings, I have recourse to you for advice; for it has appeared unto me a matter highly deserving consideration, especially upon account of the great number of persons who are in danger of suffering. For many of all ages and every rank, of both sexes likewise, are accused, and will be accused. Nor has the contagion of this superstition seized cities only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country. Nevertheless it seems to me that it may be restrained and corrected. It is certain that the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin to be more frequented. And the sacred solemnities after a long intermission, are revived. Victims likewise are every where bought up, whereas for some time there were few purchasers. Whence it is easy to imagine what numbers of men might be reclaimed, if pardon were granted to those who shall repent."

To this letter from Pliny, the Emperor Trajan answered:—

"You have taken the right method, my Pliny, in your proceedings with those who have been brought before you as Christians; for it is impossible to establish any one rule that shall hold universally. They are not to be sought for. If any are brought before you, and are convicted, they ought to be punished. However, he that denies his being a Christian, and makes it evident in fact, that is, by supplicating to our gods,

though he be suspected to have been so formerly, let him be pardoned upon repentance. But in no case of any crime whatever may a bill of information be received, without being signed by him who presents it; for that would be a dangerous precedent, and unworthy of my government."

These letters are all the more valuable to us, because they comprise all the information which we possess relative to the sufferings of the Christians in Pontus and Bithynia. The early Christian writers using these letters repeat their contents, but add no new particulars. Pliny wrote within sixty years after the Apostles were authorized to offer the Christian faith to Gentiles. We may prize these letters as of inexpressible value to us, and in reviewing their contents, we may follow them with some remarks.

Pliny was in the habit of seeking advice from the Emperor, as he had probably been instructed to do. On this occasion, the vast importance of the subject, to those whom he governed, demanded that he should be very considerate. Pliny does not define to the Emperor who the Christians were, supposing he would know all about them — thus attesting their number and their diffusion over the Empire. He speaks of their trials likewise, as a familiar matter, though he had never happened to have attended one. By his inquiry how he should proceed, we learn that there were then no general edicts in force against the Christians; when he went to his province, those of Nero and Domitian having been repealed. He mercifully suggests to the Emperor to allow a distinction in the treatment of the young and the mature. Pliny gives us a hint, which is confirmed by other early documents, that the name alone of Christian, without the proof of any crime, deserved punishment. He asks if he is to follow that rule or not. The hint is valuable, as proving that, while the fiercest persecution was waged against the Christians, some of the oppressors already doubted, whether any crime at all could be charged against those whose principal fault was their hated name. He acknowledges that he had put to death some, who resolutely replied to his thrice repeated question that they were Christians. In endeavoring to bring them back to heathenism, he probably used some such reasoning as was addressed to the martyr Polycarp: — "What harm, is it to say, Lord Cæsar, and sacrifice; and love your life? — Reverence thine age. Swear by Cæsar's fortune. Repent, swear, and reproach Christ, and I will dismiss thee."

He certainly was most unreasonable in saying, that their obstinacy ought to be punished, whether their opinions were right or wrong. Besides putting some to death, which he had not a shadow of right to do, he tore others from their homes, who claimed the privileges of Roman citizens, and subjected them to the suffering of being sent to the capital. What became of them we can only conjecture; probably they might as well have met their fate at home. It seems that by secret accusation many were wrongfully charged as Christians, and escaped by acknowledging the Emperor as a god. Perhaps such persons had been heard to speak against the persecution of the Christians. However, when the prætor had them in his power, he proceeded rigidly with them, obliging them to follow him in a prescribed form of invoking the gods. Some acknowledged their profession when first asked, but being intimidated by threats, denied it when the question was repeated. The timid, the half-convinced, acted then just as they would act now. Some too had apostatized after a long profession, either through disappointment, interest, or fear. If any evidence were needed to verify the authenticity of this letter, it would be found abundantly in the enumeration of such natural particulars as these, concerning the various dispositions of a large multitude of professed Christians. Pliny says that under solemn oath the Christians affirmed, that their whole crime or error lay in their meeting upon the Lord's day, before it was light, for the sake of being quiet and unmolested, when they sung and prayed in the name of Christ, and bound themselves not in any pledge of wickedness, but under a sacred agreement to abstain from the sins prevailing around them. This representation is precisely in accordance with the idea of a Christian assembly, which Pliny would have been likely to form from what he could hear. He adds that after this service they separated — and after a time came together again to a common meal; but that since the publication of his edict they had given up this latter meeting. He refers, not to the observance of the Lord's Supper, which generally accompanied the morning service, but to a common friendly meeting of the rich and poor, called a Love Feast, which was in general prevalence among the early Christians, and highly advantageous to their sympathy and mutual affection. This feast, however, was not enjoined in the New Testament, and by omitting it, when it was prohibited, the Christians, as they were bound to do, showed a

proper respect for the civil authority of the magistrate, and took some other method of providing for the poor and destitute. The great jealousy then entertained, of any assembly of the people, is proved to us by another letter of Pliny to the Emperor, with his answer. A destructive conflagration had occurred in Bithynia, and Pliny asked permission to establish a company of one hundred and fifty firemen; but the Emperor refused, on the plea that they would not fail to form themselves into assemblies. The Christians then gave up their social feasts. But Pliny was not satisfied with simple judicial evidence; he put two aged deaconesses to the torture; yet even then he discovered nothing, except a devoted adherence to their belief, which he calls a bad and excessive superstition, deeming it alike absurd and immoderate. He admits the great numbers of the converts, of both sexes, of every age and rank, in city, village, and open country; yet his success in working upon the timid, and the unstable, leads him to hope he can fully extirpate the faith. Though the temple and sacrificial rites had been greatly neglected, and but few victims had of late been sold in the public shambles, he catches at the appearance of a return to former usages. There is in these statements evidence, that popular feelings were enlisted both for and against the Christian faith. Pliny himself was a priest; and he writes to the Emperor who was likewise the high priest of the empire. Both were concerned for the Pagan worship.

Have we not reason to feel proud of the high and honorable testimonies to our religion, thus unwittingly given by a learned heathen? We should cherish with gratitude and reverence the resolute constancy, the guiltless perseverance of that community of early Eastern Christians. See 1 Peter, i. 1, and iv. 12, &c.

A few remarks may likewise be added upon the answer, which the Emperor Trajan returned to Pliny. He uses few words, but is distinct and lawyer-like. He approves the proceedings of his official agent, instituted in the deficiency of any legal precedents, and thus shows his own opinion, that Christianity was only a temporary effervescence. He admits that there should be a difference in the treatment of women, children, and responsible men. He allows forgiveness upon good proof of repentance. He decides that the name alone, without any crime attached to it, is to be punished. He forbids their being sought after, or apprehended by anonymous accusation. Those who acknowledge having been Christians, and are willing to

recant, are to show their sincerity by supplicating the heathen gods. This imperial edict, though addressed particularly to Pliny, of course indicated the mode of proceeding against the Christians, which all provincial officers were to adopt. There is no proof that Trajan ever revoked it. It was inhuman and cruel, and all we can say in its favor is, that it might have been more severe. These Letters exhibit to us the first effects of Christianity, apparent to those who were not its disciples; its secret and mysterious meetings, its prayers and sacraments in the name of an unknown deity, drawing its disciples away from the sacred rites and the public spectacles of heathenism. There was a remarkable desertion of the temples, and of the market for bestial victims. Large multitudes of every age and rank, even some Roman citizens, professed the religion — even retired hamlets, and isolated country dwellings contained its disciples. They had long professed their faith, and no threat or punishment would lead them to revile a man, who they knew had suffered an ignominious death, after a lowly birth and life. Why had they this intensity of faith, save that they knew in whom they believed? Their faith was very simple, free from abstruse speculations, and within the capacity of all sorts of men. Above all their innocence is attested. No crime could be charged upon them; even deserters and traitors could not implicate them. Their name, as it brought them to suspicion, served for their condemnation. It is likewise interesting to observe the haughty indifference of Pliny to the Christian faith. He cared no more about it than to observe the forms of law against its disciples. He speaks of them and of their superstition, as we might suppose he would do, when compelled to turn aside, for a moment, from the usual tenor of his correspondence with the elegant and refined companions of his city life.

In concluding our remarks upon these heathen testimonies, we will only add, that they are full and abundant specimens of what we should have, if we were in possession of a large library of works from that age. Were there an hundred more such testimonies, they would only offer a more extended commentary upon the expression of the apostle, that the doctrine of Jesus Christ was to the Gentiles — *foolishness*.

G. E. E.



## TERTULLIAN'S TRACT ON THE TRINITY.

THE substance of this article will consist of a translation from the treatise of Tertullian against Praxeas, on the Trinity. We offer it, in some sort a mere curiosity, as being the most ancient Trinitarian Tract now extant. As a mere curiosity, perhaps, it would not be worth the trouble of translation, nor worthy of a place in so grave a journal as this. But it may answer other and higher purposes, than to be shown as a literary antique. It is a specimen of the theological composition of the early church, and of the modes of reasoning which were then thought legitimate. It shows how much knowledge of the fountains of theological knowledge it was then thought necessary to possess, in order to settle points of faith.

The works of Tertullian, it appears to us, merit more attention than has usually been given to them by scholars. They have usually been mainly searched for arguments to sustain one side or the other of the various controversies, which have sprung up in the church. Their true value, it seems to us, is rather ethical than theological. They show us the effect which Christianity had then produced, in modifying the moral sentiments of the Roman world. What they were under the sway of Paganism we learn through the classics. In the works of Virgil and Horace, Cicero and Tacitus, we learn very nearly what was the standard of right and wrong, what constituted a good and what a bad man. In the works of Tertullian, the classical scholar first finds the language of the stern conquerors of the world used to express the new moral and religious ideas introduced by Christianity. He finds the Latin language greatly degenerated from its classic purity, new words introduced, and old ones used in new senses. He is more sensible than ever of its inferiority to the Greek, in richness, flexibility, and precision. It appears clumsy and awkward, when set to the task of nice definition. Its fingers are found to be all thumbs, when he attempts to pick up with them the minute points of ethical and theological controversy.

From the writings of Tertullian alone, almost a perfect system might be made out of the ethics of Christianity, at that period. We see, indeed, in him, that the sternness of the Roman temper assimilated most readily with the ascetic features

of Christianity, and the readiness, with which he fell in with the Montanist doctrines and discipline, was more likely to have been caused by the bent of his disposition, than any disappointment of his ambition, as is sometimes asserted, in not obtaining the See of Carthage or Rome.

Tertullian was a native of Carthage, and flourished in the latter part of the second, and the beginning of the third century. He was a man of strong native powers of mind, and had received that measure of early education which was bestowed upon the middle classes of Roman society. At what time he was converted, we are not informed. He became a voluminous writer at an early age. And if we were to judge from what is now extant, as well as what has perished, we cannot conceive how he could have done much else than write and publish. He had a reputation for orthodoxy, until past the middle age, when he became acquainted with the pretensions of Montanus, an enthusiast of Asia Minor, who with his two companions, Priscilla and Maximilla, professed to have the gift of prophecy, and preached various uncommanded austerities as indispensable to salvation. This alienated him from the body of the church, and he afterwards spoke of his old associates in terms of contempt, calling them Naturalists, meaning by it, sensualists.

Most of his writings are ethical in their character. But he was always ready for a controversy, and when engaged in one, he never spared his adversary, but heaped upon him, as the reader will see, in the following translation, every species of abuse. To attribute his actions to the devil, to say that he is suborned by the devil to lie, and to hint that it would have been well if God had annihilated him, is with our author very moderate language. Who this Praxeas was, against whom Tertullian composed this treatise, we have scarce any means of knowing. What we do know about him is chiefly gathered from this very composition. Other ecclesiastical writers say, that he was a native of Africa. What had raised the ire of Tertullian against him, seems to have been his conduct concerning Montanus and his associates. It appears that the Bishop of Rome had become, to some extent, persuaded of the reality of the pretensions of Montanus, and was about to write letters to the churches of Asia Minor, to effect a reconciliation between them and Montanus, with whom they had been at variance. Praxeas, it would seem, made the Bishop acquainted with the true nature of this new prophecy, and was the

cause of his recalling his letters of recognition. Before this he seems to have come to Africa, and to have had a controversy with Tertullian, been vanquished, and recanted. Tertullian was careful to make him sign a written renunciation of his errors, and he says that he left the document among the orthodox, when he forsook the church. The style of this part of the Tract is so exceedingly obscure, that it is difficult to know precisely what he means to intimate; for he scarcely does any thing more than intimate what took place. Afterwards, it would seem, that he relapsed, and again began to propagate his doctrines, much to the annoyance of his old antagonist, who threatens that by this last attack he means utterly to annihilate him.

Praxeas was a Unitarian; *as Tertullian candidly confesses the majority of the church were at that time.* It was only the philosophical and the learned, that adopted the *economy*, as they called the distinction of the Godhead into three persons, Father, Son, and Spirit. The common people looked upon it with horror, as the introduction of polytheism into the church, and as no better than the many gods of the heathen. The views of Praxeas, as far as they can be gathered from the writings of his opponent, were similar to those of Sabellius, which were promulgated about fifty years after. Neither Praxeas, nor Sabellius, nor any of the ancient Unitarians, denied that there was something divine in Christ; but they maintained that it was not a person, distinct from the one God. Their adversaries, thinking this divine something to be an essential part of the person of Christ, imagined that they sufficiently condemned this hypothesis by showing, that it necessarily involved the supposition, that the Father suffered. Its advocates, therefore, were summarily condemned by one word of contempt and reproach, and called Patripassians.

This very fact, if it is carefully considered, betrays a wide discrepancy between the ancient and the modern theory of the trinity. In the present condition of the human mind, no theory of the trinity can be tolerated for a moment, which does not make the three persons equal, "equal in power and glory." If it were a derogation from the glory of the First Person to have suffered, it was no less so for the Second. Indeed, in modern times, all ideas of the Deity's suffering seem to have been abandoned. According to the conceptions of the ancients,

the Second Person might suffer, but the First could not. They were not then of "equal glory."

In the ancient trinity, the Son was a *derived* being; and though he had always existed in the Father as his reason, still as Son, his existence was comparatively of modern date. We now proceed to the Tract.

#### TERTULLIAN AGAINST PRAXEAS.

In various ways the devil has attempted to counterfeit the truth. Sometimes he has aimed to shake it by defending it. He vindicates the unity of God, that out of that unity he may make a heresy. He says, that the Father himself descended into a virgin, that he was born of her, that he suffered, and, in short, that he was Jesus Christ. The Serpent must have made a mistake then, in the temptation of Jesus, after the baptism of John, when he approached him as the Son of God, although he was sure that God had a Son, from those very scriptures which he used to tempt him. "If thou be the Son of God, command these stones, that they be made bread." Also, "If thou art the Son of God, cast thyself down, for he hath given his angels charge concerning thee, that in their hands they should bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone." Would he accuse the gospels of falsehood, and say, "Let Matthew and Luke look to the truth of their accounts?" Will he boast, as he might in that case, "I approached God himself; I tempted the Omnipotent, face to face?" Or, "If he were merely the Son of God, I should not have deigned to tempt him?" But the devil was a liar from the beginning, and is ready to suborn a man for his purpose, if he can meet such a man as Praxeas.

It was he, who was the first to introduce this species of false doctrine into Rome. He was a man always restless, and inflated with the boast of martyrdom, merely from the fact of having suffered the vexation of a short imprisonment. And if he had given his body to be burned, it would have profited him nothing, because he was destitute of the love of God, and has done every thing he could to destroy his gifts. For when the Bishop of Rome was about to recognise the prophetic character of Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla, and by their recognition to give peace to the churches of Asia, it was he, who

by asserting falsehoods concerning these prophets and their churches, and taking the part of their opponents, compelled him to recall his letters, already sent out, and recede from the reception of their divine gifts. So Praxeas accomplished two works of the devil at the same time, — he expelled prophecy, and introduced heresy, he put to flight the Comforter, and crucified the Father. The Praxeian tares spread far and near. Here also they were sown ; while many, unsuspecting of evil, slept in the simplicity of their own doctrines. Then they seemed to be transformed to something better, by an instrument whom God chose. They even appeared to be thoroughly rooted out. The teacher, who converted him, thought to take security for his better behavior in future, and his written recantation now remains among the Naturalists, (sensualists) in whose communion the controversy was held. For a while he was silent. Soon after, we ourselves were separated from the Naturalists, by our recognition and defence of the Comforter. But it was found, that those tares were not dead. They had only cast their seed. For a while, through hypocrisy, they maintained a secret life, and at length broke out afresh. But with God's leave, by this attempt, they shall be completely eradicated. But, if I fail, I have the satisfaction of knowing, that the day is coming, when all adulterated fruits, together with all things that offend, shall be burnt up in unquenchable fire.

So it is preached, that after the commencement of time, the Father was born, and the Father suffered ; that Jesus Christ is God himself, the Lord Omnipotent. But we have always, and now especially, since we were more fully instructed by the Comforter, who leadeth into all truth, believed in one, only God, but with this modification, which we call the economy, that this one God has a Son, his Word, who proceeded from him, through whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made : he was sent by the Father into a virgin, and born of her, man and God, son of man and Son of God, and called Jesus Christ : that he suffered, died, was buried, according to the Scriptures, that he was raised up by the Father, and taken again into heaven, sits at the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the quick and dead, and thence he sent, according to his promise, from the Father, the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, the Sanctifier of the faith of those, who believe in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. That this rule of faith has come down from the beginning, and dates

before various other heresies, not to mention this of Praxeas, who is of yesterday, is proved, as well by the modern date of all heretics, as the newness of this Praxeian heresy. On this ground, there is a presumption against all heresies, that what is oldest is truest, and that which is most modern is most likely to be corrupted. While we retain the advantage of this prescription, that some who need information may be instructed and guarded, it is proper that we discuss the matter at large, that no perversion might seem to be condemned without a hearing; and especially this, which supposes itself to possess the pure truth, while it thinks that the one God is to be held in no other way, than that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one and the same; as if they are not also all one, provided all are of one, by unity of substance; and thus the sacred truth of the economy is preserved, which disposes the unity in a trinity, dividing them in three, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; three, not in condition, but in order; not in substance, but in form; not in power, but in appearance; but of one substance, of one condition, of one power; for it is one God, from whom these orders and forms and appearances are put forth. But how they can be capable of number without division, this treatise will show as we proceed.

For all the simple, I will not say, the unthinking and the unlettered, which are always a majority of believers, since the rule of faith itself turns them from the many gods of this world to the one only true God,—not understanding that the unity is to be believed under certain conditions of its own,—are horror-struck at the economy. They take for granted that the number and order of the trinity is a division of the unity; although a unity, deriving a trinity from itself, is not destroyed by it, but maintained. So they boast, that two or three are preached by us, but they assume to be the worshippers of one God, as if unity unreasonably established would not make a heresy, and a trinity reasonably explained would not constitute truth. “We hold,” say they, “the Monarchy.” And so the Latins, and those of the lowest rank, lay stress upon the very word, insomuch that you would suppose that they understood the Monarchy as well as they know how to pronounce the word. While the Latins zealously cry out, “Monarchy,” even the Greeks are unwilling to understand the economy. But I, if I have acquired any skill in each of these languages, understand monarchy to mean nothing else than one undivided dominion; nor do I conceive

that the condition of a monarchy should necessarily be, that he, whose it is, should not have a son, or have made a son for himself, or should not administer his monarchy through those whom he chooses. And I affirm, that there is no government, so exclusively of one, so undivided, so much a monarchy, as not to be administered by other persons next in rank, whom he has provided as his officials. And if he, to whom the monarchy belongs, has a son, it is not immediately divided, does not cease to be a monarchy, if the son is taken to participate in it; but it still continues to belong chiefly to him, by whom it is communicated to the son, and while it is his, it is as much a monarchy as ever, since it is held by two so united.

If, therefore, the Divine Monarchy is administered by so many legions and armies of angels, as it is written;—"A thousand thousand stood before him, and a thousand times a hundred thousand were in his presence," and does not therefore cease to be of one, so as to be monarchy no longer, because it is governed by so many thousand powers, why should God appear to suffer division and dispersion in the Son and Spirit, who have obtained the second and third places, sharing as they do the substance of the Father,—a division and dispersion of which is not suffered in such a multitude of angels, unlike in substance to God. You consider the parts, the evidences, the instruments, the power, and every thing that belongs to a monarchy, to be the destruction of it, but not with justice. It would be far better for you to regard the meaning of the thing, rather than the sound of a word. You ought rather to consider that to be the destruction of a monarchy, when another, of the same condition and dignity, and therefore the rival of the monarch, is brought in, when another God is introduced against the Creator. Then, such an evil result would follow, when many were introduced, as the Valentinians and Prodicians represent; then, there is an overthrow of the monarchy, when the Creator is destroyed. But, how can I in fact destroy the monarchy, when I deduce the Son from no other source, but the substance of the Father, doing nothing without the will of the Father, deriving all his power from the Father; when I preserve the monarchy in the Son, which was delivered to him by the Father? I may say the same of the third in gradation, since I do not derive the Spirit from any other source, than the Father through the Son. Beware rather, that you do not yourself destroy the monarchy, in denying the

distribution and dispensation of it, under as many names, as it has pleased God to ordain. It remains so completely in its proper condition as a monarchy, although the trinity is introduced, that it must be restored to the Father by the Son; as the Apostle writes of the final consummation of all things, "when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father," according to the second Psalm, "sit at my right hand, till I make thy enemies thy footstool." "And when all things shall be subjected to him, with the exception of him who subjected all things to him, then shall he be subjected to him, who did put all things under him, that God may be all in all." We see then, that the Son is no hindrance to the monarchy, although it is at present in the hands of the Son, because it is in its entire integrity with the Son, and in its entire integrity will be restored by the Son to the Father. So that no one destroys the monarchy by the fact, that he admits a Son, to whom it is confessed that it is delivered by the Father, and from whom it is again to be restored to the Father. By this one quotation from the Apostolic Epistle, we are able to prove that the Father and the Son are two, not only from the names, Father and Son, but from the necessity there is, that he who delivers, and he who receives, he who is subjected, and he to whom he is subjected, should be two.

But since they maintain, that the two are one, so that the Father and the Son are the same, it is proper that we examine the whole matter of the Son at length, whether he is, who he is, and how he exists; and so the thing will develop itself from the Scriptures and their interpretation. It is said, that Genesis, in Hebrew, begins thus, "In the beginning, God made to himself a Son." But as this is not certain, I shall draw my arguments from the very condition of God, in which he existed before the creation of the world, till the generation of the Son. Before all things God was alone, and was to himself his own world, and place, and all things; alone, because there was nothing external to him; but not alone, because he had with him, what he had in him, his own reason, for God is a reasonable Being, and reason was in him first, and so all things are from him. This reason is his intellect. The Greeks call it *Logos*; which term is also applied to speech. So the Latins are accustomed to say, by the most literal translation, "In the beginning, speech was with God," whereas reason might be considered more ancient, for God was not a speaking Being



from the beginning, but a rational Being before the beginning; and as speech itself is made up of reason, so it shows that reason must have existed before, as its substance. But this, if so, makes no difference. For although God had not yet sent forth his speech, he still had it just as much in himself, with and in reason itself, in silently meditating, and arranging with himself those things which he was about to utter by speech. For when thinking and arranging with his reason, he made that to be speech, which he afterwards uttered by speech. That you may now easily understand from yourself how this happens, consider, in the first place, how you, who are a rational animal, have reason in yourself, since you were not only made by a rational Creator, but are animated by his very substance. Consider, that when you hold converse with yourself, this is done with reason within you, that answering to you with words to every motion of thought, and every act of intellect. Whatever you think, is speech, and whatever you understand, is reason. You cannot think without words; and when you speak, you suffer speech to converse with you; in which speech, resides this very reason, by means of which you think when you talk with speech, and by means of which you speak when you think. So that speech is often, in some sort, a second person in you, through whom you speak when you think, and by means of whom you think when you speak. Speech itself is another person. How much more perfectly does this take place in God, whose image and likeness you bear, that he should have in himself reason, even without words, and speech in thought. It may be then, that I have not rashly presumed that God was not alone before the creation of the universe, since he always had in himself reason, and in reason, speech, which he made second from himself, by meditating within himself. This power and arrangement of the divine understanding is exhibited in the Scriptures under the name of Sophia, Wisdom. For what is wiser than the reason or speech of God? Therefore we hear Wisdom speaking, as if created a second person. "The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways, for his works. Before he made the earth, before the mountains were placed, and before all the hills, he begat me;" that is, forming and generating me in his own mind. Then consider how she stood by him, by a real separation. "When he prepared the heavens," says she, "I was there, and when he made the mighty clouds, which ride upon the winds; when he made

fast the fountains, which are under the heaven, I was with him, confirming his work. I was she in whom he delighted, and each day he found pleasure in my person." For as soon as God determined to bring forth, in their substances and forms, those things which he had contrived by the reason and speech of wisdom, he first produced the Word, having in himself his own appropriate attributes, reason and wisdom; so all things were created by him, through whom all things were thought out and contrived, and made even, so far as they were already in the mind of God. For this alone was wanting to them, that they should come forth in their substances and forms, so as to be subjects of sense and perception. Then it was, therefore, that the Word himself assumed his form and beauty, sound and voice, when God said, "Let there be light." This is the perfect nativity of the Word, when he proceeded from God, having been formed in thought by him under the name of Wisdom: "The Lord created me, the beginning of his ways;" then born in reality; "When he prepared the heavens, I was there." Then he made him equal with himself, inasmuch as he was made his Son, by proceeding from him, first begotten before all things, and only begotten, inasmuch as he alone is begotten of God, alone coming forth from the womb of his heart, according to what the Father himself testifies: "My heart is producing a good Word." Then the Father, rejoicing in his person, addresses him who was equally delighted: "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee," and, "before the morning star, I begat thee." So the Son, on his part, owns his Father, in the name of Wisdom: "The Lord created me, in the beginning of his ways, for his works. Before all the hills he begat me." For if here Wisdom seems to say, that she was created by God for his works and ways, and in another place it is asserted, that "all things were made by the Word, and without him was nothing made that was made," as also again, "By the Word of the Lord, were the heavens established, and all their hosts by his breath," that is by the breath that was in the word—it appears that it was one and the same power, now under the name of Wisdom, and now under the appellation Word, which received the beginning of its ways for the works of God, which established the heavens, through which all things were made, and without which nothing was made. It is not necessary any further to argue the point, that the same thing is meant

under the name of Wisdom and Reason, and under every name of the divine mind and understanding, that was made the Son of God, and which was generated, by proceeding from him.

"You concede therefore," you answer, "that the Word is a substance, in some sort, formed by breath and the communication of intelligence"? Certainly. But, on your part, you are unwilling to have him possess a substantial existence, with the attributes of a substance, so as to appear to be a real thing, and a real person, and thus constituted to be a second from God, making two, Father and Son, God and the Word. "For what is a word," you say, "but a voice, and a sound of the mouth, and as the grammarians express it, a repercussion of air, intelligible to the ear, but beyond this, something, I know not what, empty, bodiless, and immaterial?" But I affirm, that nothing can proceed from God empty and immaterial, since it is produced by something which is not empty and immaterial; nor can that want substance, which proceeds from so great a substance, and produces such great substances, for he made all things, which were made through him. For how can he be nothing, without whom nothing was made? so that what was itself without substance, created what was solid, and what was empty, made what was full, and that, which was incorporeal, made what was corporeal? For although one thing may create another that is different from itself, nothing can be created by that which is without substance and reality. Is the Word of God an empty and unsubstantial thing, which is called the Son of God, and even called God himself: "And the word was with God, and the word was God"? It is written, "Thou shalt not take the name of God upon a thing of naught." He certainly has a real existence, who was made "in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God." In the form of God, in what sense? In some sense surely, and not in no sense. For who will deny that God is material, although he is a spirit? For spirit is a sort of matter, of its own kind, and in its own form. For those things which are invisible, whatever they may be, have, with God, their body and form, by which they are visible to God alone; how much more should that not be without substance, which was sent forth from his own substance. Whatever then was the substance of the Word, I affirm him to be a person, I claim for him the name of

Son, and while I acknowledge him as a Son, I maintain that he is second from the Father. If by this any one imagines that I am introducing a sort of production, that is the derivation of one thing from another, as Valentinus does, producing one Eon from another — in the first place, I will say to you, that the truth does not use this word, and its meaning and signification, because heresy uses it likewise ; but heresy has rather borrowed it from the truth, that it might use it for the purpose of its own imposture. “Was the Word of God produced or not?” Here, pause with me a moment. If he was produced, observe that it is such a production as truth allows, and let heresy see in what she has counterfeited the truth. Let us now see in what sense each party applies the thing, and its name. Valentinus divides and separates his productions from the author, and places them so far from him, that the Eon does not know its father ; so far, that he desires to know him, and is not able ; yes, and is almost swallowed up and lost in the rest of the universe. But with us, the Son alone knows the Father, and has himself laid open the Father’s bosom, and has heard and seen all things with the Father, and only speaks those things which he is commanded of the Father. Nor does he do his own will, but that of the Father, which he knew already, nay, had known from the beginning. “For who knoweth the things which are in God, but the Spirit which is in him.” But a word is made of spirit, (or breath.) Speech is made of breath ; and as I may say, breath, or spirit, is the body of a word. The Word, therefore, is always in the Father, as he says, “I am in the Father.” And he is always with the Father, as it is written : “And the word was with God.” And he is never separated from the Father, or is another from the Father, because, “I and the Father are one.” This is the production which is according to truth, which preserves the unity, by which we say that the Son was produced from the Father, but not separated from him. For God produced the Word, as the Comforter teaches, in the same manner that the root produces the shrub, the fountain the stream, the sun the sun-beam, because every thing that originates is a parent, every thing which springs from an origin is an offspring ; much more the Word of God, which also properly takes the name of Son. Notwithstanding, the shrub is not divided from the root, nor the stream from the fountain, nor the sun from the sun-beam, so

neither is the Word from God. Therefore, after the manner of these examples, I profess to say, that God and his Word are two, the Father and his Son. For the root and the shrub are two things, but joined together. And the fountain and stream are two in appearance, but not divided. The sun and sun-beam are two forms, but still cohere. Every thing, which proceeds from any thing else, is second to the thing from which it proceeds, but is not therefore separated from it. But where there is a second, there are two ; where there is a third, there are three. So the Spirit is third from God and his Son, as the fruit is third from the root through the stem, the river is third from the fountain through the stream, and the ray third from the sun through the beam. It is in nothing alienated from its source, from which it derives its attributes. So the Trinity, passing down from the Father through the connected and interwoven grades, is not inconsistent with the monarchy, and maintains the economy. This rule of faith you may consider me every where to maintain, that the Father, Son, and Spirit are not separated from each other ; and observe under what conditions this is spoken. For note, that I say, that the Father is different, the Son different, and the Spirit different. But a simple, or perverse person, would understand this amiss, if he should so interpret this diversity as to mean separation of the Father, Son, and Spirit. But I say this from necessity — because they contend that the Father, Son, and Spirit are the same, glorifying the monarchy against the economy — not that the Son is another from the Father by diversity, but by distribution ; not another by division, but by distinction ; for the Father cannot be precisely the same with the Son, without some little difference. For the Father is the whole substance, but the Son is a derivation from the whole, and a portion of it, as he professes : “ My Father is greater than I.” That the Son is made less, is sung in the Psalm : “ A little lower than the angels.” And so the Father is different from the Son, in that he is greater, inasmuch as he who begets must be different from him who is begotten, he that sends from him who is sent, he who does any thing from the agent through whom it is done.

It may be seen, that when our Lord uses this word in the person of the Comforter, he does not mean a division, but only an order. “ For I will pray the Father,” says he, “ and he shall send you another Comforter, the Spirit of truth.” So he shows himself to be another from the Comforter, as he has shown that

the Son is another from the Father. As he has shown that the Comforter is third in rank, so have we shown that the Son is second, that the economy may be preserved. Is it not clear, that one is different from the other, from the fact, that they are called Father and Son? All things are what they are called, and are called what they are; for the names of things ought not to be confounded with each other, any more than the things of which they are the names. What is, is, and what is not, is not, and "whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil." Each must be either the Son or the Father. Night and day cannot be the same, neither can the same be Father and Son, so that both are one and each is other, as these most foolish Monarchians would have it. For they say, that the Father made himself to be his own Son. Having a Son, makes the Father to be a Father, and having a Father, makes the Son to be a Son. Those, who are made what they are by each other, cannot be what they are by themselves, so that a father cannot make himself to be a son to himself, neither can a son make himself to be a son to himself. What God constitutes, that he also preserves. It is necessary that the Father should have a Son, that he may be a Father. So it is necessary that the Son should have a Father, that he may be a son. It is one thing to have, and another thing to be. For instance, in order to be a husband I must have a wife. I cannot be a wife to myself. So also, that I may be a father, I must have a son; I cannot be son to myself; so, that I may be a son, I must have a father; I cannot be a father to myself. I am made to be this and that, by what I have; I must be a father if I have a son, a son if I have a father. On the other hand, I cannot be any of the things which I possess. I cannot have a father and be that father, nor a son and be that son. In as far as it is necessary for me to have one of two things, in order to be the other, in so far it is impossible for me to be both, and at the same time, to be one and have the other. For if I am both son and father, I cannot have that son as a son, because I am that son myself. And if I have not a son, and am the son myself, how can I be the father? For I must have a son, that I may be a father; I am not a son, because I have not a father to make me a son. So, if I am both father and son, I cannot have a father, because I am that father. And if I have not a father because I am that father, how can I be son? for I must have a father in order to be a son; I cannot be a father, if I

have no son to make me a father. This is all a contrivance of the devil, to make one exclude the other; for by reducing both into one, in order to favor the monarchy, it makes God neither the one nor the other. For certainly, there can be no father unless he has a son, and there can be no son unless he has a father. In that case, if there is a father, there is a son. Such a monarchy do they establish, who allow neither Father nor Son!

But they say, that "nothing is impossible with God." Who does not know this; and who is ignorant that "those things which are impossible with men are possible with God? And the foolish things of the world God hath chosen, that they may confound the wise." We have read all this. Therefore, they say, it was not difficult for God to make himself to be both Father and Son, opposite as it may seem to the conditions of human things; as likewise it is contrary to nature for the barren to bring forth, but it was not difficult with God, neither was it for a virgin. Nothing is impossible with God, it is admitted. But if we are allowed to make such rash use of this truth in our assumptions, we may imagine any thing we please concerning God; we may say, that he has done what he might have done. It is not to be believed, because he could do all things, that he has done what he has not done. We must inquire what he has done in fact. He might, I should be safe in affirming, have furnished man with wings for flying, which he has done to the moths; but it does not follow, because he might have done it, that he has done it. He might have annihilated Praxeas and all heretics with him at once; but he did not annihilate them because he could do it. It was proper that there should be both moths and heretics; it was proper, likewise, that the Father should be crucified! But upon this ground, there must be something impossible to God, namely, that which he has not done; not because he could not, but because he would not. For with God it is the same thing to have the power and have the will, the same thing not to have the power and not to have the will; and whatever he has had the will to do, that he has had the power to do, and that he has done; therefore, if he has willed to make himself to be his own Son, he might have done it, and if he could have done it, he has done it. So that you will prove him both to have had the will and the power, if you prove he has actually done it. But you must prove this as explicitly from the Scriptures, as we prove him to have made his Word his Son. He

calls him Son. This Son can be no other than he who proceeds from him. The Word, therefore, who proceeds from him, must be the Son, and not he from whom it proceeds; for he does not proceed from himself. But if you make the Father and the Son the same, you will make the same God to have produced himself, and to have been produced by himself. If he could have done this, it does not follow that he has done it. All I ask is, that you should produce the proof which I demand, like my own; that is, that the Scriptures declare that the Father and the Son are the same, as explicitly as we have made them prove that the Father and Son are distinct from each other; distinct I say, not divided, as I have shown by what is said by God; "My heart is throwing out a good Word;" you must in like manner show, that God has somewhere else said, "My heart is throwing out myself a good Word," so as to show that he who throws out, and that which he throws, are the same, and he who produces is the same with him who is produced, if the same thing is both the Word and God. I will moreover, produce a passage in which the Father says to the Son, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee." If you wish me to believe that the same Being is both Father and Son, show me the place where it is announced, "The Lord said unto himself, I am my own Son; this day have I begotten myself." In like manner is it said, "Before the morning star I begat myself," and "I, the Lord, have begotten myself, the beginning of my ways, for my works; Before all the hills I begat myself;" and other similar passages? Whom could the Lord God have feared, that he dare not declare this, if it were true? Could he have feared that he should not be believed, if he had plainly affirmed that he was both Father and Son? One thing he did fear, and that was to affirm the thing that was not true; he feared himself, and his own truth. I know that he could not declare the thing otherwise than he had ordained it, nor have ordained it otherwise than as he declared it. You make him out to be false, an equivocator and a deceiver in this article of belief, if while he was his own Son, he attributed the personality of the Son to another, since all the Scriptures both affirm a trinity and maintain a distinction. From these Scriptures our argument is deduced, that it is impossible for the same person to be made to appear to be speaking, to be spoken to, and to be spoken of; for we cannot suppose such perversity and deception in God, that while he is



really addressing himself, he should seem to be addressing another. Consider other addresses of the Father to the Son in Isaiah, "Behold my Son, whom I have chosen, my beloved, in whom I am well pleased. I will put my Spirit upon him, and he shall proclaim judgment to the nations." Consider that he addresses to him again, "It is a great thing to thee, that thou art called my Son, to establish the tribes of Jacob, and to turn back the captivity of Israel. I have set thee for a light of the nations, that thou mightest be salvation to the ends of the earth." Now, consider what the Son says concerning the Father. "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach glad tidings to men." Likewise what he says to the Father, on the same subject, in one of the Psalms; "Thou wilt not forsake me, until I proclaim thy name to the whole generation to come." Also, in another Psalm; "Lord, how are they multiplied who oppress me." Indeed, almost all the Psalms speak in the person of Christ; that is to say, they represent the Son speaking to the Father, that is, Christ addressing God. Observe how the Spirit speaks in the third person of the Father and the Son. "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand, till I make thy enemies thy footstool." Also, in Isaiah, "Thus saith the Lord to my Lord, Christ." Also, by the same prophet, to the Father concerning the Son; "Lord who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? We have declared concerning him; As a little child, as a root out of a dry ground, he had neither beauty nor comeliness." These are a few examples out of many. For we do not pretend to turn over the whole Scriptures, though we might, by appealing to the full majesty and authority of each chapter, enrich our treatise with a greater mass of evidence. But by these few, the distinction of the trinity is plainly exhibited. It is the Spirit that speaks, it is the Father to whom he speaks, and it is the Son of whom he speaks. The same holds good with other things, which are now spoken to the Father concerning the Son, or to the Son; and now to the Son, concerning the Father, or to the Father; and now to the Spirit, — they establish the separate individuality of each person.

If you are still scandalized by the number of the trinity, as if it were not connected in simple unity, I ask how one indivisible Being can speak in the plural number; "Let us make man in our image, and in our likeness;" when he should rather

have said ; " Let me make man in my image and in my likeness," if he were a single, indivisible Being. So, in what follows ; " Behold Adam has become like one of us," he deceives or sports with us, if while he is one, single, indivisible Being, he speaks in the plural number.

Or, perhaps, you will say, that he spoke to the angels, as the Jews interpret it, who also do not acknowledge the Son. Or, perhaps you will say, it was because he was himself Father, Son, and Spirit, that he exhibited himself as plural, and spoke to himself in the plural number. Rather let us say it was because the second person, his Word, adhered to him, and the Spirit in the Word — that he spoke in the plural number, " let us make," " our," and " us." With whom did he make man, and whom did he make him like ? With the Son surely, who was one day to put on humanity ; and with the Spirit, who was to sanctify man ; he talked with them from the unity of the trinity, as assistants and spectators. Finally, the following Scripture distinguishes between the persons, " And God made man ; in the image of God made he him." Why did he not say, " his own image," if he who made man was one, and there were no other in whose image to make him ? But there was one, in whose image he made him, namely the Son, who, being himself about to become a truer and more real man, was the real cause of man's being said to be made in his image, since he was made in the image of the true man. But in the preceding works of creation, how is it written ? In the first place, before the Son appears ; " And God said ; let there be light, and there was light." The Word himself was immediately " the true Light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world." And through him came into existence the material light of the universe.

Then, with the aid and ministry of Christ in the Word, God willed, and God created. " And God said, let there be a firmament, and God made a firmament. And God said, let there be lights, and God made the greater light and the less." But the same person made all, who made the first, that is, the Word of God, " through whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made that was made." Now, if he himself was God, according to John, " The Word was God," you have two Gods, one speaking, and the other doing. But in what manner we are to consider him another, I have already explained,—in regard to person, and not to substance, so as to

be distinguished but not divided. Moreover, although I every where maintain one substance in the three adhering together, still I say, that in order to make sense, he who commands must be one, and he who acts must be another. For he would not have commanded, if he himself were to do what he commands to be done by another. Still he did command, which he would not have done, were he one; or he would have acted without uttering a command, or not waited till he could command himself.

"But," say you, "if a God said and a God did,—if one God said, and another God did, then two Gods are asserted." If you are so obstinate, you are at liberty to think so; and to think it more, since it can be shown, that there are two Gods spoken of in one of the Psalms. "God is thy throne, forever, the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved justice and hated wickedness, therefore God hath anointed thee, even thy God." If he addresses God, and affirms that God is anointed by God, then he proposes two Gods.

Hence also, Isaiah says to Christ: "The Sabeans, men of tall stature, shall pass over to thee, and follow thee with their hands bound, and shall adore thee, because God is in thee. For thou art our God, and we were ignorant of it, the God of Israel." Then too, in saying, God is in thee, and thou art God, he speaks of two, one who was, and another, in whom he was, namely Christ and the Spirit. This very thing you will find in the Gospel, in so many words. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." There was one who was, and another with whom he was. But I read also, the name of Lord applied to two persons, "The Lord said unto my Lord sit at my right hand." Also, Isaiah says, "Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed." He would have said, "thy arm," instead of the "arm of the Lord," if he had not wished to be understood, the Lord the Father, and the Lord the Son. Genesis is much older testimony, where it says: "And the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah, sulphur and fire from heaven, from the Lord." Either deny these things to be Scripture, or who are you, that you should think that they are not to be received as they are written, especially as they are not expressed in allegories and parables, but in plain and simple definitions. But if you are one of those, who cannot endure the Lord showing himself to be the Son of God, nor believe him to be the Lord, recollect

with these opposers, that it is written, "I have said, Ye are Gods, and Sons of the Most High." And, "God standeth in the congregation of Gods"; and if the Scripture does not hesitate to call them Gods, who became the sons of God by faith, you may know that it has much more properly conferred the name of God on the true and only Son of God. "But," say you, "I shall still urge you on positively to assert even now, from the authority of these very Scriptures, that there are two Gods, and two Lords." By no means. For we, who have, by the grace of God, investigated the dates and purposes of different parts of the Scriptures, being disciples, not of men, but of the Comforter, maintain that there are two, and three also, with the Holy Spirit, according to the scheme of the economy, which makes a numerical distinction, that it may not seem, as you perversely infer, that the Father was born and suffered, which is not lawful to believe, since it is not so taught. We have never uttered such an expression as two Gods and two Lords, not because the Father is not God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, and each one God. But in ancient times, two Gods and two Lords were asserted, to the end, that when Christ should come he should be acknowledged as God and called Lord, because he is the Son of God and of the Lord. Since, if in the Scriptures there had been found but one person of God and of the Lord, Christ would justly have been excluded from the title of God and Lord. For if no one had been declared to be God, but the one God, and the one Lord, it would have appeared that the Father himself descended, since only one God and one Lord was read of, and the plurality of his nature, which was preparing as the substratum of the future faith, would have been veiled. But when Christ appeared, and was known by us, that it was he that made a plurality, being himself made the second from the Father, and the Holy Spirit the third, and now that the Father was through him more fully made known, the name of God and Lord was reduced to one, that the heathen might pass over from the multitude of idols to the one only God, and a difference might be established between the worshippers of one and of many divinities.

It is unnecessary to pursue this translation any further, for the purposes for which it was introduced, to give a specimen of the earliest Trinitarian Tract we have, to obtain a glimpse of

the theology of the second and third centuries, and to weigh in the balances of modern philosophy the arguments, which were then thought sufficient to establish so important a doctrine as the tri-personal nature of God. Let us take a summary view of it as it stands, as far as we have gone.

He begins by accusing Praxeas of being suborned and set on by the devil, of making out that the Bible is false, and the Evangelists liars ; of being a conceited boaster of his sufferings as a martyr ; having introduced into Rome and Carthage the impious heresy, that the Father became incarnate and suffered ; of having been convinced and converted by himself, (Tertullian,) and then of having relapsed and propagated his heresy anew ; of having prevented the recognition, by the Bishop of Rome, of the pretensions of the Montanists.

He then goes on to recite his own creed, to which he attaches particular authority, as he had been instructed by the Comforter. It is, that he believes in one, only God, but under the conditions, which were then called the *economy*, that this one God has a Son, who is his Word ; that he was sent into the virgin, died, rose again, and ascended to heaven, &c. This creed, he says, has the authority of prescription, since it has been handed down by the church from time immemorial. He then goes on to meet the objections, which are brought against this creed, as being inconsistent with the unity of God. He says, the unity is not destroyed, provided one is derived from another, and is of the same substance still, not divided, but existing in continuity, as he afterwards explains it, like the unity of the tree, consisting in roots, trunk, and branches, or of the river, stream, and fountain, or of the sunlight, the sunbeam, and the sun itself. They are each one, though the parts are derived from one another. The economy or trinity does not destroy the unity, but is consistent with it. But the simple and the illiterate, *which are always a majority of believers*, will not hear of the economy, and say that is a return to polytheism. They boast, even the ignorant Latins, that they hold the *monarchy*, which term being Greek, they do not understand. But we, says he, hold the monarchy too. Our trinity is not inconsistent with it, as it affords the instruments of administering it, since the Son and Spirit act in a subordinate capacity. Then follows a long series of texts from Scripture, to prove that God governs the world through the Son ; but the Son must finally deliver up the kingdom to the Father.

But he thinks it proper, since his opponents insist on the unity, and make the Son and the Father to be one, to go into an examination of the whole matter of the Son, in all his relations. He has heard, he says, that Genesis begins in Hebrew "God made for himself a Son." But as this is not certain, he goes on to deduce the history of the Son from the beginning.

In the beginning, God existed alone, and was every thing that existed. Yet he had in himself, for a companion, Reason, with whom he conversed. So God was, in some measure, two in that way. But when he spoke, Reason assumed the form of speech, and became the Word; and through this Word God created every thing. This Word, when so produced, became God's Son. A word is made of breath, and breath in Hebrew, in Greek, and in Latin, is spirit. Here then is God, the Word, and the Spirit in the Word, and they make the trinity.

Such was the orthodox doctrine of the trinity, previous to the Council of Nice. We wish to impress this particularly upon our readers, that it was a doctrine totally different from the modern doctrine of the trinity, which denies all idea of derivation, and justly; as underived and uncaused existence must ever be an attribute of every thing, which challenges the name of God. But, say his opponents, a word is nothing but a reverberation of air, and is nothing in itself. He answers, the Word of God created the world, which is solid and substantial, and as nothing can proceed from nothing, the Word must have been something real and substantial.

He then goes on to establish the identity of the Word of John with the Wisdom spoken of in the book of Proverbs; which he does in the following way. He quotes the twenty-second verse of the eighth chapter, not as it stands in the Hebrew, but in the Septuagint translation; "The Lord created me, the beginning of his ways, for his works;" and makes it to mean, that God created Wisdom the first of all his works, for the purpose of using her as an instrument in creating the rest. In this sense, he thinks, that it harmonizes well with the declaration in the New Testament, that "all things were created by the Word, and without the Word was nothing made." But if this was the meaning of the Greek translators, they utterly mistook the signification of the original, which is correctly given in our common version; "The Lord possessed me in the

beginning of his ways, before his works of old." But Tertullian had probably never seen a Hebrew Bible, and if he had, he could not have read a word in it. But supposing the Septuagint to give the true meaning, he thought this passage precisely in point, to prove, that God first created the Word, and then all things through him.

But here his adversaries are upon him again, and accuse him of making a positive production of one being from another, an idea totally unworthy of God. He defends himself by saying, that the production, which he maintains, is something very different from that of the Valentinians, who asserted the derivation of their Eons from God, in such a sense, as to separate them entirely from him ; so that they did not know who their Father was.

But in his derivation, the Son knows the Father, dwells in the bosom of the Father, reveals the Father, and teaches what the Father bids him. He was with the Father, and was one with the Father ; yet still, in a manner, separate, because he was the Word, and as a word, proceeded from the Father, as a tree from the root, a stream from the fountain, a ray from the sun. He then goes on to quote various passages of Scripture, to prove that they were distinct, but not divided. If they had different names in Scripture, they must be different, for the Scripture never represents falsely.

But then his adversaries turn upon him and say, "that all things are possible with God." He can be Father, Son, and Spirit, himself. No, says Tertullian. God is restrained, not by physical, but by moral impossibilities. He is not himself, Father, Son, and Spirit, because he could not be, but because he did not choose to be. The only way to prove that he has done so, is, not to show that he might have done so, but to prove the fact, that he has done so, from the Scriptures, as satisfactorily as the tri-personality is proved. Then follow several pages of proof texts, from various parts of the Scriptures, of the pertinency and conclusiveness of which every reader must judge for himself.

Such then is the treatise of Tertullian on the trinity. It is a fair, and rather a favorable specimen of the theological speculations of the Fathers of the Church, before the Council of Nice. Such were the arguments by which the doctrine of the trinity was gradually elaborated, which was afterwards established by the formal decree of that Council, and has made a

part of the canon of faith ever since ; nay, is now publicly read and sung in the churches ! We see in this writer, and in all the early Fathers, the want of a knowledge of the Hebrew, and in general of Oriental figures and modes of speech, without which the Old Testament cannot be understood ; nor yet, indeed, the New ; for though the language is Greek, the style of thought and expression is Hebrew. The arguments derived from the Old Testament are generally founded on the Greek translation of the Seventy, and that is often but a poor representation of the original. And it is a singular fact, that the writers of the New Testament have followed the Septuagint in their quotations, and, in some cases, reasoned from the translation instead of the original.

There is in them, too, a palpable want of that general intellectual cultivation and discipline, which are necessary to enable a person to reason conclusively on any subject. This remark is as applicable to the most learned, as the most ignorant. Origen, the most learned of them all, was so deficient in judgment, so incapable of determining what was, or what was not, proved by the facts, which his vast reading brought together, that his conclusions, without sight of his premises, carry very little weight. These traits of the early Fathers confirm the suspicion, we have many other reasons for entertaining, that the Christians, for at least the first three centuries of the existence of the Church, were confined very much to the lower classes, and that it was not considered respectable by the fashionable or the learned world, to become a Christian, before the conversion of Constantine. Not that this was a reproach to the Christians, but the necessary consequence of the state of things which then existed. This circumstance, while it made the religion of the first centuries pure and sincere, made their theology meagre and obscure, not to say puerile and extravagant.

We cannot close these remarks, without adding, that occasional translations from the Fathers would contribute not a little to diffuse among the Christian world a right estimate of those appeals, which they so often see, to the authority of the Fathers, paraded before the reading public, as if they really were entitled to any weight. For instance, in the Oxford controversy, we see page after page almost entirely made up of citations of the opinions and arguments of these ancient writers, as if either the one or the other were of any real force, as opinions and arguments.



There is a use of the Fathers, which is rational and legitimate, as histories of opinions, and a record of the condition and usages of the Church at different periods. In this light they are most interesting. They set before us a vivid picture of the early Church, and the circumstances by which it was surrounded. We learn from them the various opinions which then prevailed, and the reasons which were then thought sufficient for entertaining them. But, as means of learning what Christianity essentially was, they altogether fail us. For this, we must go to the Scriptures themselves, and in our study of them, we get very little light from the Christian writers of the first three centuries.

G. W. B.

## A HISTORY.

THOSE deep dark eyes ! full well, too well I know  
Their strange sad history, — yet wherefore strange,  
Since such the lot of life since years begun, —  
And wherefore sad, unless that lot be so,  
Which Goodness Infinite is pleased to give,  
As preparation for an endless bliss.  
Then, not in sadness nor in wonder, we,  
May tell that history. Those deep, deep eyes,  
Whence all the glorious soul looked nobly out  
Of a pure perfect woman — one who came  
Right from the hand of God, to be withdrawn  
All perfected by deep experience  
Of joy and wretchedness :

I saw them first  
In happy days long past. The joyous spring  
Had just stept forth upon the forest lawn,  
Risen from the hidden nook where winter through  
She slumbered, down among the withered leaves,  
And standing on the fresh young grass, looked round  
Trembling and timid. O'er her loosened hair  
And flowing robe sprang momentarily fresh buds  
Swift opening into flowers, and rich green leaves  
Still mingled here and there with withered twigs  
And leaves decayed, yet clinging round her form  
From her warm winter couch. The air was soft,  
For fragrance stole from every glen and hill,  
And sunny slope, and woody fountain-side,  
And echoes of sweet sound came softly forth,  
Tremulous to the ear, — scarce bold enough  
Above the faintest whisper to proclaim  
The chorus of all liberated things

In earth, and air, and water. Thus all sounds  
And sights and scents made perfect harmony,  
And she I speak of seemed a part of them.  
A child, almost a baby — four kind years  
Had stooped in turn to kiss her sunny brow,  
And lingered, as if loth to pass her by.  
She moved about the cottage where she dwelt  
A household angel, — living Joy and Love,  
The Spirit of a Smile. She passed along,  
And looks long used to sorrow followed her,  
And from them she drew answering smiles, as bees  
Draw honey from a flower ; and her dark eyes  
Were full of smiles and tears, each following each  
Like clouds and sunshine on an April day.  
The flowers loved to kiss her little foot,  
The breeze played lovingly about her hair,  
The sun looked softly down on her : all felt,  
Things animate and lifeless, all alike  
Her influence, — all clung to her alike.  
The passer-by would pause and look on her,  
His hardened brow relax, and even tears  
Gush from his eyes, the while he stood and gazed  
Upon the exquisite motions of her form,  
Or on her face's loveliness, and then  
Would pass along, a better, purer man.  
If such to casual eyes, how deeply dear  
To those of whose whole life she was a part,  
The sweetest, holiest part. My memory dwells  
Upon her now, and scarce can cease to think  
Of all her loveliness. Words cannot say  
How exquisite the darling was.

That passed ;  
And years went o'er her ere we met again,  
For one brief fleeting moment met. The spring  
Had passed away, and loose-clad summer reigned

O'er the parched hill and the shrunk rivulet,  
Shrunk, and mourning for its power lost  
Of spreading fresh young life around the wood ;  
The yellow flowers hung down their heavy heads,  
And shrill-toned insects sung from all the trees,  
Yet beauty dwelt there still in piny dells,  
By the cool river's bank, and in the wood,  
Where danced the merry brook from stone to stone,  
Thoughtless, unknowing of the sun's hot power ;  
And broad green leaves spread a delicious shade,  
And moss a soft green seat. In such a spot  
I saw her next ; — when merry voices chimed,  
And laughter ringing like the waterfall,  
Her voice, her laugh, the gayest : then I saw  
That lovely child, — a child no longer now,  
Changed, yet the same, — and oh how lovely still.  
The years still loved her, — as they passed her by,  
Each after each had poured into her heart  
Treasures of childish happiness, glad life,  
Full to o'erflowing, brimmed and running o'er,  
Outgushing at those lustrous, sparkling eyes.  
You would have thought they ne'er had learned to smile  
Until that moment, but were pouring out  
A lifetime's happiness at once ; and yet  
Year after year aye found her still the same,  
Ever as full of joy, as full of love.  
And they who saw her most could scarcely rest  
For happiness. Pain dwelt not where she came.  
Her smile, her beaming eye, her hand's soft touch,  
Unsealed the springs of joy in each sad heart,  
And they, who came in sorrow, went in peace.  
Such was she then. A moment and no more  
I gazed on her, and then she passed along —  
The sunlight gleamed upon her floating hair, —  
She paused a moment, and looked back, her eyes

Gleaming with beauty, like a spirit of joy,  
Of joy and love, lit from a rainbow down,  
To bless our earth a moment ; — then moved on  
A step, and disappeared.

Years passed away  
Before we met again : full many a spring  
Had deepened into summer ; summer sped,  
Swift-footed, into autumn, — when once more  
I saw her, for a moment, as she stood  
Near by that happy home, where her first years  
Of happiness were spent. The autumn brown  
Was busy by the roadside and the copse,  
Plucking the yellow leaves from bush and tree,  
And strewing them around. From out the wood  
Echoed the squirrel's chirp, the ripe nut's fall,  
Like heavy waterdrops ; the air was clear,  
All sights and sounds distinct ; the sun shone warm  
Upon the copse's border, where she stood,  
Her feet half buried in the withered leaves  
Piled deep along the edge. Yes, there she stood  
Before me yet once more. Oh God ! how changed  
From what I knew her first, — from what she was  
When last we met ; and yet how beautiful, —  
How nobly, sadly beautiful. No more  
The merry childish heart gleamed from her eyes,  
The happy home of joy and peace no more.  
Those glorious eyes ! No longer in them shone  
Sunlight and moonlight mingled. In her heart  
Pale sorrow sat, nay, anguish, utter woe.  
The certainty of utter sorrow dwelt  
Where once was joy's bright seat. That poor, poor heart,  
Sorrow itself scarce wished to dwell in it,  
But rose and gazed from out those lustrous eyes,  
Raising their long-fringed lids — gazing so sad,  
So wistfully, so hopelessly, that scarce

You dared to look at them, but felt relief  
When, as they most were wont, they drooped again,  
And looked no longer so. Oh ! ask me not  
The sorrows of her earthly lot. Enough  
To know that no slight thing could alter thus  
Her, who was once so different ; ask no more,  
But weep the bitter tears that then I wept,  
Gazing a moment on that lovely one,  
Lovely, oh lovely still ; years could not change,  
Nor sorrow take away her nobleness,  
Her perfect beauty. She was like a cloud,  
On summer evening, lingering sad alone,  
When all its mates are faded, lingering still,  
Above the horizon, looking sadly down  
Upon the earth, where late, not all alone,  
It dwelt content, — until it fades away,  
And never comes again. And did she fade  
Like to the cloud ?

She did. More years passed by,  
Until at last, when winter, still and cold,  
Spread its white mantle on the sleeping earth,  
And all was still and motionless as death, —  
And yet not dead, but sleeping, — then I saw  
For the last time that noble one. She lay  
Dying, upon her couch ; life lingered yet  
In her enfeebled form, on her pale cheek.  
Life could not bear to lose her. But she lay  
Yet thinking, feeling, although motionless.  
You saw the thought and feeling in her eyes,  
Those wondrous eyes ! They failed not, like the rest  
Of her departing powers ; but as she drew  
Nearer the end, expanded more and more,  
Till all her life seemed concentrated there,  
All action, thought, and feeling, — and they flamed  
Like flaming, dying embers. There she lay ;  
She spoke not, moved not. We who stood around

Could scarcely realize that we were ourselves, —  
All, at that moment, seemed a part of her.  
We hung upon each breath of hers, nor word,  
Nor motion, came from us. The moments passed,  
But we heard not their footsteps. Till at last  
A sudden shudder passed along her frame.  
She started up, raising her head at once  
From off her pillow, gazed around at us  
With such a look, — so strange, and yet so calm,  
Unearthly, and yet full of love and faith,  
And hope and heavenly beauty, — so made up  
Of all we know of earthly loveliness,  
And all we dream of angels, — so serene,  
So earnest, sure, undoubting, that no change  
Of time has dimmed its memory to me,  
No other thought of life a moment come  
Between it and my mind ; with such a look  
She gazed on each of us, — then clasped her hands,  
And casting up to Heaven those heavenly eyes,  
“ Father, I come,” she said, — and so she died.

Here ends my tale. I said it was not strange ;  
If thou still thinkst it so, thou little knowst  
Of life and all its changes. And if still  
Thou thinkst it sad, oh muse it o’er again,  
And think and feel as I do, taught by it  
No more to murmur at the ills of life,  
To dwell no more upon its happiness,  
But see in both their destined end, and look  
Beyond its narrow bounds, to that True Life  
Where earthly joys and sorrows all are past,  
And trouble us no more than yonder bird,  
Sitting beneath blue sky and purple cloud,  
With snowy wing, regards these scenes below  
The clouds and sunshine of our human life.

## THE PRESENT TENDENCIES OF THE CHURCH.

A Dissertation read before the Union Ministerial Association.

BRETHREN, in view of the subject, with which your fraternal bidding alone would have given me courage to grapple, you might well address me in the words of the Roman poet :

*"Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ  
Tractas, et incedis per ignes  
Suppositos cineri doloso."*

Vast, intangible, formless, featureless is the first aspect of the Church, which, in reverence for its divine Head, and in courtesy to its ill-compacted and jarring members, you thought fit to recognise as one, when you asked me to describe its present tendencies. Did you set me down in mid ocean, in a storm, when neither sun nor stars appeared, and the waves were mountain high, and did you ask me to define the course of the tide, and to mark out the ocean currents, you would have assigned me a task closely analogous to the present. In very truth, my rowers have brought me into deep waters. But there was once enacted, on the deep and angry sea, a majestic drama, which foreshadowed the whole history of the Church, and in which we may, perhaps, be able to designate the point of time at which we stand.

Our Saviour once lay asleep in the hinder part of the ship, when the storm ran high, and the cry arose, "We perish." But his timid fellow voyagers appealed to him for aid in their extremity ; and he arose and rebuked the wind, and spread a profound calm over the waves, and the vessel went straight on to her port. Of late, the chaotic elements of the church universal, in their restless striving, in their tumultuous heaving, might well be likened to that inland sea of Galilee, with its eddying currents, and its quick, short swell. The navigators have long been at the point of despair ; for their masts are strained, their vessel leaks at every seam, nor know they how near they may be to sunken rocks or engulfing whirlpools. They long ago began to cry for aid ; but, not as the disciples did, to the incarnate power and love of Jehovah. Like Jonah's fellow-mariners, they have cried, "every man unto his god," — each to some new device or patent jugglery of his own, each to



some arm of flesh, to some unmeaning symbol, or to some demon or sect, or clan, no less powerless to perform than prompt to promise, no less worthless than specious. Meanwhile, in a ship thus trimmed and manned, Jesus has been of course left "in the hinder part," and there, not at the helm; for there is neither helm nor pilot, — the vessel has been left to drift before every shifting breeze, save when the random splash of a solitary paddle has modified her course for a little season. Jesus has been to the church as one asleep. His empty name has been in their mouths, — his words they have carried as a talisman outside their bosoms, — his ordinances they have kept as a mystic charm, — they have talked, and preached, and sung about their absent, their ascended Lord; but his living, active, transforming spirit they have been slow to invoke. Therefore is it, that the church might have been fittingly addressed in the prophet's apostrophe: "O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted." But the point has now, it seems to me, been reached, when the church has begun to awaken Jesus with its cry for aid, for life, — "Save, Lord, or we perish."

To drop the figure, which I have thus far pursued, there is, amidst all the jarring interests and conflicting voices of the church, a growing disposition to return to "the simplicity that is in Christ," to inquire his will and do it, to go behind his outward form, behind the dead letter, to his life-giving spirit. Men are asking with more earnestness than formerly, what was the mind, what the life of Christ; and are beginning to regard Christianity as consisting, not in forms and creeds, but in a Christlike life and conversation. This tendency, I say, may be traced throughout the church, that is, in all its divisions, not in all its members; for there are, in every branch of the church, those that join not in the appeal to the divine Master. But this tendency is breaking up the old divisions of the church, is casting down its partition walls, is threatening to obliterate its ancient landmarks, and will marshal the Christian host anew, according to the distinctness, with which they recognise and avow the spirit of Christ as the sole standard of piety. The question of conformity to Christ's example, which has hitherto been altogether secondary, promises to take precedence of all others.

Among existing sects, (if existence may still be affirmed of those now rent and discordant bodies, which used to be bound together by leaden bonds of nominal unity, in the torpid state

miscalled peace,) among existing sects, there is not one, which may be said to have had any Christian idea or principle for the basis of its union. The Platonic mystery of the trinity, the metaphysical dogma of predestination with its consequences, an extrinsic atonement, a work of grace wrought anywhere but in the sinner's heart, a prescribed mode of genuflexion, a set form of words in public praise and prayer, a peculiar mode of descent through finger's ends of (so called) spiritual gifts, — these have been the points of union and of disagreement. For these have men overlooked the great essentials of a Christlike life and spirit, — have maintained fellowships like those cemented by the old Tyrrene tyrant, who used to tie the living and the dead, face to face, — have disclaimed fellowship with the purest and most heavenly spirits, that could not utter the demanded sectarian shibboleth. But what marvellous unions are now daily taking place, — marvellous, not on account of the actual discrepancy of the parties brought together, but on account of the height of the fences which they have had to leap, in order for hand to join hand, and heart to beat within reach of heart ! Men of kindred spirit are somehow feeling their way into each other's communion ; and this is the case, not only with men of kindred excellence, philanthropy, and piety, but also with men of kindred mysticism, formalism, and dogmatism.

The ultra-spiritualists have had contributions to their ranks from every separate body of believers, — some from the cathedral shadow, some from the cloister of Calvinism, others from the Quaker meetinghouse, and others still from the churches, which, though planted by the stern, old Puritans, profess to have reformed upon their creed and spirit. And, though, to us proselytes of the gate, the utterances of the motley group recal the miracle of Babel, and their writings seem sepulchres, out of the pale of any resurrection promise for whatever of thought they may contain, though Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia, seem to speak each in his separate language, and certainly more like men filled with new or old wine, than otherwise inspired, yet each acknowledges the jargon of every other to be " his own tongue, wherein he was born."

The new development of a lifeless formalism, a material religion, which has taken place in one portion of the church, is not mere Oxfordism. It has the full and hearty sympathy

of formalists of every name, and there are those of every division of the church, who wish and utter for it a hearty God-speed ; for it recognises the principle, on which each sets his own peculiar forms above the power of godliness. The Baptist, who thinks more of the baptism of water than of that of the spirit, — the Quaker, who cares more for the fashion of his raiment, or the form of his speech, than for the simplicity of a guileless heart, — he of any sect, who deems assent to a complex creed the fulfilling of the law, — all these are of one spirit, feel themselves united, express free and cordial sympathy with each other ; for each believes that, if the principle of formalism be once established, his own mode of formalism must become supreme.

But especially are those of every name, who take the spirit and the life of Jesus for their creed and ritual, feeling their way to one fold, thus verifying the old prediction to Zion : “ Then shalt thou see, and flow together, and thine heart shall be enlarged.” The manifestation of the children of God to each other, for which the whole creation has groaned and travailed, begins to be realized. There has been, all the church and all the world over, a forth-putting of kindly and liberal feeling, which the wildest visionary could not have dreamed of twenty years ago. Even between the venerable mother church and her anathematized Protestant daughters, filaments of union are going forth. Reiterated expressions of toleration, sympathy and Christian fellowship towards Protestants, marked the closing years of the saintly Cheverus, then a peer of France. Father Mathew’s name is claimed and felt as the property of the whole church ; and he is on terms of intimate communion with leading friends of man, of various sects on both sides the Atlantic. This good man also, in sympathy with the movements of Protestant Bible Societies, is actively engaged in the distribution of the holy scriptures, and, with the approbation of most of the Romish prelates in Ireland, is printing a cheap edition of the Douay version of the Bible, of which he writes ; “ Had I pecuniary resources equal to my wishes, every one of the six millions of converts to the principles of temperance in this kingdom should have a copy of the blessed book before the end of the year.” Then among the dignitaries of that most exclusive of all hierarchies, the established church of England, we find Archbishop Whately pleading for the full church-standing of

uncircumcised Presbyterians and Independents, and maintaining, by the joint power of argument and ridicule, the absurdity of prelatical assumption, the hollowness of all pretence to apostolical succession, the equality of Christian priesthood among all, who exercise it in the fear of God and the love of Jesus. Yet more strange, we see Maurice, a high Churchman in all his tastes and preferences, — a man, who will not for himself bathe the least tittle from the canons and the rubric, — yet, with the grace of God in his heart, in a rich vein of true Christian charity, going forth through the whole church, not forgetting the rite-hating Quaker, or the creed-despising Unitarian, seeking out the positive side of every form of doctrine, the elements of truth that lie at the basis of every sectarian organization, exhibiting each denomination as discharging a needed ministry and doing its part of the Redeemer's work, and setting forth the beautiful conception of a temple of truth and piety, to which all will not only flock in the latter days, but towards the construction of which each sect will bring its separate and essential contribution. Or, in illustration of the same tendency, I might refer to the memory of our own revered and beloved Channing, whose name fifteen years ago was an offence and a byword, except among Unitarians, (and the more timid of them dared not own him without apology or abatement,) but whose death called forth testimonials of the sincerest honor, and the most heartfelt sorrow, from brethren of every name and sect on both sides the Atlantic. Or, I might point you, in illustration of this same tendency, to what is now witnessed at all the great philanthropic reunions, where those from every section of the church take sweet and fraternal counsel together, unite in prayer, pledge their combined influence and effort, and make common cause in putting away sin and bringing in everlasting righteousness. In the religious community, bigotry has ceased to be obtrusive. Its voice, though still heard, is like the voice of one crying in the desert. Virtual Christian recognition is perpetually occurring among those, who used literally to deem themselves, not only *toto cælo*, but *et inferno*, apart from each other.

An eloquent expositor of prophecy maintains, that we are close upon the sounding of the seventh Apocalyptic trumpet, and the voice of that trumpet is, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ." This, he supposes, is a proclamation to be virtually made by the com-

bined host of God's elect, gathered from out of the whole church — a proclamation, which they will be prepared to make good, by earnest, unremitting effort. This I firmly believe, and can see already, though violence and strife are still abroad, the mustering of the host, which shall send this cry through earth and heaven, and shall rest not day or night, till "the mystery of God be finished;" which mystery is, Paul being our interpreter, that the Gentiles, the nations of the earth, shall all be "fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of the promise in Christ by the Gospel." To many minds I know that the present appears dark, and that clouds seem gathering thick and fast. But to my eye, these clouds, black and heavy as they are, are only flitting across the firmament, not gathering there. The present is an epoch, rather than an age — an epoch, when the elements are deeply moved, when the sky lowers, when old foundations are breaking up, only to prepare for the establishment of those new heavens and that new earth, wherein righteousness shall dwell. If throughout the church the thrones are being cast down; I verily believe that it is, that the Ancient of days may sit, and that his may be "the kingdom, and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven."

You will perceive, brethren, from the tenor of my remarks, that I recognise an approximation towards a threefold division in the church. There are discernible among all denominations three distinct tendencies — one a tide setting resistlessly on towards the new Jerusalem era of the church; the other two strong counter-currents, which will ultimately be overborne, but against which the present and the coming generation must not only take favor of the tide, but spread the full sail and speed the strenuous oar. The tide is that of literal Christian piety — the recognition, love, service, imitation of Jesus as the way, the truth, and the life. On this are borne all who believe the kingdom of God to be "not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the holy spirit." The fiercest counter-current is that of formalism, (whether as to rites or creeds, for it is all one,) — adherence to the mere outside of religion — preference of the husk above its contents, of the means rather than the end — a disposition to make the kingdom of God mere meat and drink, and that not nourishing meat or refreshing drink, but the puff-balls of ritual spread and complaisance, or the indigestible compounds of dogmatic theology

The other counter-current flows from this. It is ultra-spiritualism — pseudo-transcendentalism. This springs from the barren rituals and the dead, bony theology, which have of late filled the church. In these, nominal Christians had kept the Saviour's body embalmed for many years. These creeds and forms had been represented as containing the whole of Christianity. The Master himself, his spirit, his love, his piety, his spotless example, had been almost divorced from his religion. But rays of the true light have broken in upon the minds of some, who cannot or will not trace them to their source, and who, identifying Christ with the formalism and dogmatism that have passed current under his name, have taken it upon themselves to talk and write irreverently of his name, of testimony, authority, and historical Christianity, and to boast themselves as authors of what they drew, and could have drawn from him alone. Their blindness will not last long. They must and will be won to a humble, childlike faith, by the exhibition of a catholic, loving, Scriptural, Christ-revering, Christ-following piety, which the better portion of the church will soon present. Formalism, (under which name I include dogmatism as a species of it,) will yield more slowly; for it has nothing in common with practical piety — the two might flow between the same banks for a thousand centuries without mingling their waters. Formalism cannot be converted; but in good time will be dried up.

Permit me now to recur to two or three features of our own New England community, which favor the development among us of the main tendency of the church towards vital, practical godliness, and which check and counteract the tendencies to hyper-spirituality, and to grovelling formalism.

One of these features is the fearless freedom, with which religious opinions of all kinds are now professed and advocated. This is a new feature, and consequently an alarming one to those, with whom novelty is always dangerous. A few years ago, only one shade of religious sentiment could be expressed with safety by those who held a good name in high esteem. Over the whole community was spread a calm, profound, yet delusive; for the elements of discord were there — the waters of strife were mingled, though stagnant. It was not love, but conscious weakness and mutual dread, that kept back the free expression of thought and feeling. The community appeared united in the profession and belief of a moderate form of ortho-

doxy. But there were exclusionists, who waited only the right moment to raise the cry of heresy, and to hurl denunciations and anathemas. There were men of every shade of liberal sentiment, who, for fear of being cast out of the synagogue, made the light that was in them darkness. The demoralizing influence of the revolutionary war, and the influence of French principles and sentiments, that grew up with and after the war, spread the poison of infidelity far and wide among all classes and orders of men; but few dared publicly to avow their unbelief. Paine's infamous works were sent forth by thousands through the country; but none could tell who sent them. Corrupt fountains were flowing through the land; but none could trace them to their source. How much more propitious to the cause of truth and righteousness is the present aspect of society, when, though the same things still be done, they are not done in a corner? Every shade of belief and unbelief is now openly avowed. Every creed of religion and of irreligion now has its fearless advocates and professors. Hypocrisy no longer cripples truth upon her march. Her progress is no longer trammelled by the machinations of traitors, clustering close around her banner. Her army has indeed lost in numbers; but it has gained vastly more in strength, for it enlists only the chosen and the faithful. The influence of each particular system of belief may now be clearly seen and accurately traced. The fire of public scrutiny must try each man's work, and his creed must be judged by its fruits. Thus error will be cast out, on account of its corrupting tendency, while the simple truth as it is in Jesus will be owned, cherished, and embraced, on account of its power to make and keep men virtuous and holy. The truth must ultimately triumph — all that it needs is a fair field to compete with erroneous and defective views. And by having now this open field for competition, a simple, scriptural piety, which magnifies the weightier matters of the law, justice, truthfulness, and mercy, while still it leaves not the others undone, must bear fruit so beyond all comparison fairer, than either a stupid formalism, or a self-styled spiritualism, which spurns the yoke of daily duty and the burden of charity, as to make their barren worthlessness a fact too obvious for question.

Another feature of our age and community, which augurs well for the church, is the philanthropic spirit, which visibly pervades all denominations of Christians — their growing en-

gagedness in efforts for the temporal and spiritual good of the race. We all can remember the time, when there was little or no feeling abroad, with regard to the well-being of the ignorant and degraded. So long as every clergyman visited at distant intervals the poor and afflicted of his own flock, so long as every town had its almshouse for the indigent, and every county its jail for the guilty, so long as direct appeals to pity received some good degree of attention from individual Christians, all was thought to be going on well; the demands of charity were deemed sufficiently answered, and the worst forms of suffering and sin were left out of mercy's reach. And when a spirit of philanthropy was first awakened among us early in the present century, so blind were Christians to the claims of thousands and tens of thousands of our own countrymen, that they commenced by sending missionaries across the ocean. Within the last twenty years, however, the drunkard, the prisoner, the seaman, the slave, the ignorant of our cities, those altogether born in sin, have seen the light, and felt the genial warmth of Christian philanthropy. And though vice and misery yet abound, and the love of many nominal Christians is cold, what a vast and noble host do we see waging incessant war with all that mars the earthly peace or the heavenly birthright of any child of God! You can now find no man, who in any way impresses you as a man of an excellent and Christlike spirit, who is not engaged heart and hand in some of these so various forms of philanthropic effort. And in all these good works, true Christians of every name unite — they learn each other's worth — they trace in each other marks of the same lineage and kindred — they are drawn nearer and nearer to each other — they already cherish a far closer spiritual union than they dare to own. Meanwhile these philanthropic movements are every day widening the breach, (however closely creeds and forms may bind it,) are widening the breach between Christ's true family, and those who are too æsthetic in their piety to stoop to men's infirmities, or too stupid formalists to think of aught beyond the mint, anise, and cumin.

A third propitious feature of our times and community is the new interest in religious matters, now taken by the great body of the laity. Until within the present century, the clergy bore entire sway in all things pertaining to the church. The altar was deemed theirs exclusively; and, whether they kindled a holy or a strange fire upon it, it was suffered to burn unmo-



lest. They dictated articles of faith to their congregations ; and compelled uniformity of belief, if not by civil power, by frowns and menaces. The light of God's word shone upon their hearers mainly through the medium of their own minds and hearts ; and, though most of them were men of sound minds and devout hearts, they were not without their prejudices and their follies. They perpetuated their influence too, from generation to generation, by the authority of ecclesiastical councils, often so employed as to put down worthy teachers whom the people craved. The pilgrim fathers indeed erected a barrier against clerical tyranny, by vesting the right of ordination in the people ; but there are not more than three instances on record, in which the people availed themselves of the right, and the clergy very early denied it, and succeeded in numerous instances in suppressing its exercise. Religion was quietly left to the clergy, as an affair in which thought or preference could hardly be expected from a layman, and in which passive obedience was his greatest merit. But the sceptre has now gone from the hands of the priesthood. An appeal lies open from their doctrines or counsels to the word of God. Laymen now deem it their duty and their privilege to search and decide for themselves, and are often guilty of what would, half a century ago, have been regarded as the acme of heaven-daring audacity, of arriving at different conclusions from their ministers. Every man is his own theologian. Unless prevented by inordinate self-conceit, he employs whatever light his minister's superior conversance with such topics may afford ; but he uses the mind of one thus versed in sacred things as an aid, instead of following it as an infallible guide. This state of things, though it may at first tempt the less modest of the laity to unwarrantable encroachments, and the weaker vessels among the clergy to sycophancy, must ultimately place the clerical profession on the footing, on which every profession ought to stand, namely, on the personal ability and worth of its members. It will raise the standard of clerical attainments and character, and will oblige the clergy to keep up with the age instead of lagging behind it, to cultivate literature and science, and to watch for the public peace and good. It will leave no beds of down for clerical drones ; but it will give every one, who has the power and will to be a faithful ambassador of Christ, a post of extensive usefulness and high honor. The clergy as a profession have nothing

to fear, and much to hope. What they lose in arbitrary, prescriptive authority, they will more than gain in intelligence and moral influence, if they are only faithful to themselves and their Master. This diffusion of new light, this creation of individual interest in religion, this taking religion into their own hands on the part of the laity, portends indeed the approach of the time, when all the disciples of Christ shall be "kings and priests unto God"; but chief priests will then be needed as leaders in social worship and public charities, as guides in serious inquiry, as counsellors to the young and unwary, as sons of consolation to the grief-stricken. And how much more dignified will the clerical office be, when preachers, instead of preaching, as they so often have, to torpid congregations, and ever and anon crying out in despair, "can these dry bones live," shall minister to communities, where there are all around them minds alive to the importance of divine truth, and hearts touched by the power of heavenly grace. As to the tendencies of the church, this decline of religion by proxy is in every aspect encouraging and propitious. True religion is personal in itself, and in all its applications and uses, and can never therefore be the concern of corporations or a priesthood. Nor can Christian union take place between ministers in their official capacity, or between congregations collectively considered, but only between individual souls; and whatever tends to make religion every man's own work and duty, hastens the establishment of a spiritual union among Christians on the basis of personal piety.

I now ask your attention to a few practical hints, founded on the foregoing discussion, with regard to the duty of individual Christians, and especially of the members of that division of the church to which we belong.

I have spoken of the growing tendency of the church, on the one hand to formalism, and on the other to ultra-spiritualism. Against both these tendencies it concerns us carefully to guard both ourselves, and the flocks committed to our charge.

First, against formalism. At first sight, it might seem superfluous to lift a voice against formalism in our own portion of the Christian fold. Our forms are few and simple, and yet there are many among us, who leave even those unheeded. Yet, among those, who are rigid in their observance of our unpretending ritual, we often discern an over-willingness to rely

upon it, as if it were the end of the law, and not the means of keeping it. This is especially the case with the Lord's supper. It seems to me that many do concentrate in that one observance almost the whole of their piety. The fact that they are communicants gives them a quiet assurance of their right to the Christian name on earth, and the Christian's reward in heaven. They may lead lives, no matter how selfish and grovelling,—they may leave their families without either the form or the power of godliness,—they may push religion utterly out of their business and their pleasure,—they may act only on worldly maxims, and be always ready to sacrifice principle to policy,—still the consecrated bread and wine are to them as a mystic charm, a seal of the divine covenant, a substitute for every other manifestation of faith and obedience. Now talk as we may about the mummery of the Romish ritual, and the absurdity of those who are going back to the dark ages for religious light, and who find that light in the flame of an altar, candle, or the glow of a censor, theirs is a far more rational and respectable formalism, than any that can subsist among us. Theirs is at least majestic and imposing. Its pomp and glitter give to an outward ritual the resemblance of something real, substantial, grand. But our forms, in their primitive, unadorned simplicity, seem to say in a language, which none can misinterpret, "We of ourselves are nothing,—we are merely the vehicles, on which the devout soul may be borne into a spiritual presence, and may hold felt converse with its unseen Father and Redeemer."

We need, in the next place, to take and give the warning against what is often called ultra-spiritualism, for which however self-sufficiency would be a better name. I use this word, not as a term of reproach, but simply as a descriptive, graphic word. Some, in our times, who put forth high pretensions to spirituality, think and speak disparagingly of revelation, of authority, of set seasons, and outward forms,—they maintain the sufficiency, the infallibility of their own intuitions,—they are a law unto themselves, and no other law comes with authority to bind them. Taste, impulse, instinct, is their supreme rule of life. Christianity, so far as it reflects their own convictions, they consent to treat respectfully; but it can add nothing to what they are taught by the inward light. The decline of traditional authority, the

breaking up of time-hallowed religious institutions, the jarring of rival sects and of rival factions in the same sect, all tend at the present time to unsettle the faith of men for what comes with divine authority, and bears the seal of God. But let us, brethren, pass from the warning power of human dictation to the word of Jehovah and the testimony of Jesus. Let us not yield up our implicit, confiding faith at the bidding of philosophy falsely so called; for true philosophy is the handmaid of faith, showing man his finiteness, his littleness, his limited power and scope of vision, opening to him a universe of truth, in which none but God can guide him, and assuring him that there must be depths of wisdom in the divine mind, which can be reached only through the medium of revelation. Nothing so becomes the creature of but yesterday, as implicit faith and trust in Him, who is from eternity to eternity. And it is this faith, this trust alone, that is adequate to high and worthy results. All the great and holy men of God, the missionaries, the philanthropists, the martyrs, the revered exemplars of Christian excellence, those whose names are dear to every Christian heart, have been, with not a solitary exception, men of submissive, childlike faith, men who bowed their own spirits to the sway of Jesus of Nazareth, who felt their own ignorance and infirmity, and sought to know all things only as he taught them, and to do all things only as he strengthened them. Faith, and faith alone, has subdued sin, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, and out of weakness been made strong. And look abroad now where you will, do you find a man, consistent in his whole life, faithful alike to great and to little duties, rendering their dues equally to God and to Cæsar, to the church and to the world, living at peace and in charity with all men, and engaged in labors of beneficence, not only when sustained by the excitement and sympathy of crowds, but also when alone, unaided, opposed, reproached, that man you will find, not relying on his own intuitions or inward light, but a humble, modest learner at the feet of Jesus, and follower in his steps. Show me one man, who, leaning on his own understanding, when he might have had the aid of revealed religion, has made himself as faultlessly and eminently worthy, as a meek and lowly faith in Jesus is making not a few in every walk of life,—show me the one without faith, who can be placed among the very many that

excel through faith ; and that one man shall convert me from a preacher of Christ into a preacher of my own self, and of every body's self ; for that one man will convince me of the possibility of what I now deem impossible, namely, the attainment of true spiritual greatness without "receiving the kingdom of heaven as a little child."

To pass to another head of practical advice, let me urge, as imperatively demanded by the signs and tendencies of the times, the cultivation in our congregations of a more profound and accurate religious knowledge, and of more definite views of Christian truth, than now exists among the people at large. I am afraid that there is too much need of this suggestion. The scriptural and religious knowledge of our generation is exceedingly superficial ; and there are multitudes engaged in the various forms and works of religious activity and zeal, who can hardly tell what they believe, much less give a reason for it. They see so much for the Christian to do, that they will not give themselves time to learn. On the same principle, because the harvest seemed so great, might we, brethren, have stepped from College into the pulpit in our boyhood, without giving ourselves any discipline of theological culture. But for this we should have been justly rebuked, and, however ardent our zeal for Christ, we should have led a feeble, vagrant, useless ministry, only cumbering by our activity a larger surface of ground, than if we had lain still. But why should our parishioners, any more than ourselves, undertake to do the work of Christ, without entering into his mind, understanding his truth, informing themselves of his doctrine ? May not their intended good be turned into evil by their ignorance ? May they not infuse into the anxious, sin-burdened, or afflicted soul, yet more perplexity or distress, when they mean to be sons of consolation ? May they not utter, sanction, encourage maxims, ways of thinking, forms of activity, which a closer study of the truth of Christ would show to be unchristian ? And at any rate, the more they know of divine truth, the more conversant they become with the treasures of revelation, the stronger and the better furnished are their minds, the more devout and energetic are their souls ; and, if it be with mind and soul that they are to do their Master's work, then does it become them to cultivate that mind and soul to the highest point possible. All truth is from God, and is

sanctifying. On all subjects connected with God, Christ, duty, eternal life, some knowledge is of course indispensable to the humblest measure of piety; and it needs no labored demonstration to show that, in proportion to the accuracy and thoroughness of a man's knowledge on these points, (other things being equal,) his piety will be profound and fruitful, or shallow and unedifying.

And then, as to the scriptures, if written by men whom the spirit of God touched and moved, must they not deserve, from the private Christian as well as from the professed theologian, not only cursory reading, but that close, critical, searching scrutiny into their contents, which many seem to hold in light esteem? Is it not reasonable to suppose that, while some of the treasures of revelation lie upon the surface, others by divine wisdom hidden beneath the surface, to meet the eye and reward the toil of him only, who digs for truth "as for hid treasures"? Such has been the experience of all who have made the trial. Nay, in thus digging, we always find more than we seek. When we dig for brass, we find gold, and when for gold, diamonds of the rarest beauty blaze upon our sight. Often a train of inquiry, that is entered upon without enthusiasm, and with but little expectation of entertainment or profit, as we follow it up, will lead us through an illuminated labyrinth of rich and beautiful thought, of glowing sentiment, of materials for the most exalted and elevating contemplation. How often, in my scriptural researches, have I been reminded of one of those caverns in the Arabian Nights, where you enter through a low, dark passage, and for a while grope your way through stones and rubbish, but soon come into a room blazing with light and sparkling with gold and jewels, and then into another, and another, and another still richer and more splendid! Oh, how have I been mortified to hear professing Christians, nay, persons who called themselves Christian teachers, express an utter distaste, indifference, nay, aversion for any means of a more accurate, scriptural, and religious knowledge, than they can pick up by the wayside without study or effort! But I cannot enlarge upon this topic. I have introduced it in the present connexion, because the actively philanthropic character, which the church is assuming, while it presents many aspects for which we cannot be too thankful, is attended with this danger of a neglect of that accurate study and

knowledge of the truth and its records, by which alone the Christian can be furnished for a profitable activity, and a wise and judicious philanthropy.

One hint more in conclusion, which I shall not have time to expand as it deserves. I have spoken of the growing tendency to religious union among good men of various denominations. Let it not be supposed that this union is, or ought to be, brought about by a sacrifice of decision, or integrity in the profession and maintenance of each one's individual opinions. It is not a oneness of creed, but an enlargement of heart, for which we are to strive. The blessing, which we crave, is not amalgamation, but fraternal society—not unison, but harmony. Now there is a strong temptation, to which some good men yield, in conferring with one of a different creed from our own, to smooth over the rough points of our belief, to fabricate coincidences, and to seek Christian recognition on the ground of similarity of doctrine; and some will indulge in a sort of sanctified boasting over the truces with those of other sects, which by management of this kind they can make for themselves, while their more straightforward brethren are left still under the ban and the anathema. Unions, into which weak, though good men thus smuggle themselves, are no specimens of the union to be desired and sought, nay, I verily believe, to be hoped and realized among Christians. I do not want to be recognised as a Christian by my Calvinistic brother, because I can ape his phraseology, and sew Genevan technicalities upon primitive Unitarianism, like new cloth upon an old garment. I do not want him to say, "Yes, you may possibly be a Christian, for you use such and such words and tones like us, and have fallen into some of our measures; but I cannot say the same for your brethren, who adhere to the simple phraseology of the Bible, whose speech has no orthodox twang, and who reject our peculiar measures." I want him to say, and I believe that the time is coming when every good man will be ready to say to every other, "We differ, nay, differ widely as to the metaphysics and technicalities of religion. We differ on points, which both you and I regard as of commanding interest and high importance. On these points do you preach your views, and I will preach mine; and to our common Master we will stand or fall. But because you and I are alike seeking to breathe his spirit and live his life, because

we agree in making him our only standard of duty and of piety ; therefore I give and take the hand of fellowship." May God hasten the time when such a fellowship shall bind all the disciples on earth, and make the church below like that above.

A. P. P.

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### FREE RESPONSIBLE AGENCY.

EVERY man knows himself to be a free responsible agent. He is conscious of it. He, also, believes and asserts it of other men. If there have been a few persons, of a speculative and skeptical spirit, who questioned and quibbled on this subject, yet even while they did it, the unaffected dictates of their own consciousness belied the affected dubiousness on their tongues. All men believe it both in regard to themselves and others. They, moreover, act on this principle, charging blame or imputing merit, according to the moral character of their own and others' motives and deeds.

Notwithstanding all this, however, the subject is involved in some obscurity. A darkness rests upon it. Free moral agency is a thing of difficult analysis. It is a nice and delicate task to define it. We doubt whether a correct and satisfactory definition of free responsible agency was ever written or uttered. Great minds have labored abundantly on this subject, and not without some good result. If they have not accomplished all at which they aimed, yet there is no adequate cause for despair. Difficult points of science are mastered by slow approaches. He, who does not strike the mark in its centre, may not have spent his strength in vain.

It being universally acknowledged that man is a free moral agent, and that he only of all the beings on earth is man, it follows, of course, that if we can define man, showing his peculiar and true characteristic ; we shall, at the same time, have developed the characteristic of a free responsible agent. And



though this is only changing the relative positions of the point of inquiry, it may, however, be some facility to our investigation. The inquiry now is, not whether man be a free moral agent, for that point is acknowledged, but what man is? What are the great principles of man's constitution, and by what peculiarity does he differ from other earthly and living creatures? With this question in view, we offer the following statements and observations.

1. Man possesses the power of self-agency. This power is not, however, incommunicable nor independent. It was given to him by his Divine Creator. Man possesses a constitution. And one of its principles is self-agency; and it is acted by a force within itself. But this power is not peculiar to man. It is not, consequently, his proper characteristic. All other living creatures and living things have a natural constitution and the power of self-agency. Every kind of grass, plant, and tree has the power of self-action. A clod of dead matter, being destitute of this power, can only be acted upon, but cannot act of itself. But a living vegetable acts by a power within itself; it grows, buds, blossoms, bears fruit, puts forth leaves, sheds them, and then repeats the whole process of fructification. The power, by which it does this, is a principle of self-agency. It is its life. When this principle is withdrawn, it is dead—because there is now in it no principle of self-action; it yields to the influences from without, having no power to resist them; it decays and is decomposed into its primitive and simple elements. This endowment of life—of a principle of self-action—extends throughout the whole vegetable and animal worlds. All else is dead. Whatever possesses this, is alive. It has the power of self-agency.

2. Man has the power of voluntary agency. He can act from choice or volition; he moves certain parts of his body by an act of will; by dint of choice and purpose he can effectively fix on a course of action of thought and pursuit. He chooses one thing in preference to another, because it better pleases him, and he acts accordingly. It is a wonderful power. The possession and exercise of it constitutes mental freedom. Man is endowed with this faculty; but it is not peculiar to him. It is, of course, not his true characteristic. All living creatures upon earth are, also, endowed with it; the worm, the insect, the reptile, the fish, the fowl, and the quadruped.

They act by volition ; they will a particular motion, and that motion takes place. If man did not possess this power, he could not be a free agent ; yet it is not this that constitutes his moral freedom and responsibility ; for the insects, the fishes, and the fowls are free agents, but they are not moral, not responsible. They cannot understand a prescriptive law and act by it. They incur no guilt by doing harm ; they acquire no moral merit by doing good. For they are ignorant of the distinction between right and wrong.

3. Man possesses the power of rational agency. The principle of this is reason ; the power of discerning the difference between true and false ; between reality and fiction. It is the power of knowledge. It takes note of the changes which occur, and of the relations between cause and effect. It traces out consequences from given and known premises or data ; it anticipates the future from the present ; it generalizes and makes abstractions ; it is a different power from instinct. The latter seeks its end without calculation ; without knowledge ; without the aid of experience. Instinct looks at its end as one entire whole ; reason analyzes into parts and parcels ; instinct is blind to all chances and difficulties ; but never weighs them carefully in the balance. Reason learns, improves, and makes progress indefinitely ; instinct, at its first leap, makes one astonishing bound forward, and there it stands still forever. Instinct is the characteristic of all creatures on earth, with the exception of man ; it is their guide and governor ; it directs them to their means of sustenance, of protection, and of welfare. But man, being rational, employs reason for the attainment of his various ends ; it is the light that reveals the path in which to walk. Man, however, is not entirely without instinct ; nor are all brute animals wholly destitute of reason ; the dog, the ox, the horse, the elephant, sometimes give manifestations of intellect and thought ; they make calculations, and adapt means to the accomplishment of ends. Other animals, though less frequently, also give indications of mental effort ; and just in proportion as reason acts, instinct is superceded. On the other hand, when, and so long as a man is moved by instinct, his reason sleeps. And when an animal acts under the dictates of reason, his instinct sleeps ; it is controlled. While an infant, man is instinctive, and occasionally afterwards ; the animal character of his actions is rational ; but the general

character of brute-action is instinctive. Instinctive agency is irresponsible ; but rational agency is responsible. If man were not endued with reason, he would not be accountable. He could have no idea of law or of duty. He could neither understand a command, nor yield obedience to it. When a man loses his reason, he ceases to be a subject of moral obligation. If he become insane, he becomes irresponsible, in proportion to the extent of his mental alienation. Rational agency is responsible, because it can, and should, be governed by knowledge, by principle, by law, and truth. It is the office of reason to control instinct, and appetite, and passion.

4. Man is endued with the power of moral sensibility and discrimination. He is capable of the sentiments of guilt and of self-justification ; of blame and of praise. The foundation of these sentiments is a moral sensibility ; a feeling of moral right and wrong, of moral good and evil in their own nature, distinct from both antecedents and consequences. Reason cannot make this distinction. It can distinguish true from false, and right from wrong, in the relation of means to ends ; but not the right and wrong which implies guilt and blame, on the one hand ; praise and justification, on the other. Without a moral sensibility, man could count, and calculate and generalize ; be a mathematician and a philosopher ; a statesman and a politico-economic ; he might be capable both of self-love and of benevolence ; and of acting on the principles of expediency and utility ; but never on those of moral propriety ; never on those of moral desert and demerit. For he would be a stranger to the meaning of the words, guilt, blame, innocence, praise, approbation, conscience, integrity, and others, which bear a moral import. There would, of course, be no such words in human language. And there would not be such a thing as proper moral good or evil, in the world. Without this, commands and prohibitions, proceeding from the highest authority, could have no moral sanction. They might be backed by the strongest considerations of power and utility, but not by a particle of moral force. Such must have been the human world without the sentiment of moral sensibility. But with it, as the fact is, moral distinctions are made. There are such things as desert, merit, praise, blame, justification, condemnation, guilt, punishment. And there is moral agency. A man is blamable or justifiable,

punishable or rewardable for what he does, while in the full possession of all his constitutional powers. But if any of these are impaired or lost, his moral agency, in the same proportion, is gone also. A moral agent must be previously, in the order of nature, a self-agent, a voluntary agent, and a rational agent ; and yet all these together do not make him a moral being. He becomes man by possessing a moral sense, which, in connexion with reason, constitutes conscience, — God's law written upon the heart of universal man, accusing or excusing themselves and others for their deeds and conduct.

Blame and praise, in their most strict and proper sense, are personal sentiments. No man can be made guilty but by the condemnation of his own heart. He may be sentenced and imprisoned and tormented, but all this is not truly punishment ; is not the real wages of sin. A transgressor must have a conscience, and this conscience must be violated, or he cannot be a sinner. And none but a sinner can be a subject of guilt and punishment.

We have thus endeavored to describe a free moral agent. He must possess a principle of self-agency ; of voluntary agency ; of rational agency ; and a moral sensibility. Without the first, he cannot act of himself ; without the second, he cannot act freely, from choice ; without the third, he cannot act understandingly ; and without the fourth he cannot have moral sentiments, nor make moral distinctions, nor feel the sentiments of guilt and blame, of praise and justification. And such an agent is man ; for he is possessed of all these attributes. His great distinction, however, is reason. It is in this, that he resembles God, his Creator. God possesses reason, but not organized life upon which all creative self-agency is constituted. God has no appetites, no passions, no instincts. The moral sense in man is much of the character of instinct. It acts without the process of reasoning. Like instinct, it grasps its whole object at once, immediately. It is reason that renders man a subject of progress. Instinctive agents make no advances. The first nest ever made by the robin, the first dam ever built by the beaver, the first honey-comb ever constructed by the bees, were as perfect as any which have since been produced by them. But the first attempts of man, in the way of art, are rude. The second are better, but not until the hundredth or thou-

sandth, perhaps, does he arrive at the comparatively perfect. But there are no assignable bounds to his progress. He can be always growing ; always making advances onward and upward. This is man's prerogative, it is the offspring of his reason. He can improve in both knowledge and goodness ; can add to his faith hope ; and to hope purity ; and to purity self-denial ; and to self-denial godliness ; and to godliness the love of his neighbor ; and to this charity toward all men. And in these excellencies, he may abound more and more. Looking unto Jesus, the Author, Finisher, and Exemplar of our faith, he is changed into the same image from glory to glory.

We can conceive how man might have been a holy being, without having been made a rational and a moral agent. He might have been endued with strong holy instincts ; with an instinct for justice, for truth, for faithfulness, for diligence, for mercy, for the veneration and worship of God. Thus instinctively endued, man might have always been industrious, regular, upright, affectionate, merciful, and pious ; uniformly good and holy. But with all these, he would not have been a moral, nor a progressive being. A moral being acts by an objective, prescribed rule, not merely by a subjective law. A moral being employs knowledge, he judges and balances between principles and inclination ; between profit and pleasure ; between duty and self-interest. No deed is properly a moral act, if it have been entirely spontaneous, instinctive. It may be very good, but it is not strictly rewardable, not having been done from moral principle, moral motive. It contains no element of obedience and moral purpose.

There may be such a thing as instinctive holiness. But it is not moral in the most proper sense of the term. For its law is wholly subjective. The subject of it needs no instruction, no knowledge, no threats, no promises. But a creature, actuated by instinct, makes no proficiency. Its condition is stationary. What he is to-day he will be to-morrow, and thus on to the end. He is a voluntary, but not a free agent ; not in the same sense in which man is free. Reason is man's law, not instinct. If he always obeyed this law, he would be indefectible. But such is not the character of his nature. Liability to disobedience, crime, and punishment, is the price which man must pay for his moral freedom. And if under the moral law of reason he grow to the stature

of a perfect saint, he attains perfection which is of a higher order than that which is merely instinctive and subjective.

If what has now been advanced be correct, it is apparent that great mistakes have been made on the subject of free moral agency. Volition has been made the distinctive characteristic of a moral being. Man has been accounted free and accountable, because he possesses the power of will. But if this be fact, then all the animal creation are free moral agents, amenable to prescriptive law ; and are the due subjects of blame and punishment. Yet no man ever believed this doctrine, that beasts, and fowls, and fishes, and insects incur guilt, for not living soberly and righteously. If volition be the distinctive of moral agency, then insane persons and idiots are as much moral beings, rewardable and punishable, as the intelligent and the sane. But none ever subscribed such a belief. By universal consent the idiot, and the mind alienated from reason, are exempted from moral responsibility, though the power of will be as perfect in them, as it is in other men.

The doctrine, however, has been popular, that a voluntary agent is, of course, both free and accountable. Such is the doctrine of Edwards and of the whole Calvinistic school ; it is that volition is the essence of freedom and moral responsibility. This doctrine, very obviously, is a great mistake. For it proves vastly too much ; therefore, it proves nothing ; because manifestly a false argument. Its erroneous character must have been soon detected, had those who employed it been unprejudiced and sincere seekers after truth. But they were controversialists. They wrote for the purpose of defending the favorite doctrines of their theology. For these an auxiliary was sought in psychology. With such an object in view, it was not to be expected of them that they would be impartial. Appearances would be easily set down for realities, the posts of error, in certain points, be driven down the deeper, and the walls of its temple rendered harder and more impregnable.

But why did the Calvinists take so much interest in establishing the doctrine, that volition constitutes the freedom of moral agency ? It was on account of the relation which this doctrine sustains to that of divine decrees and destiny. The Arminians rebelled against the doctrine of destiny, asserting its incompatibility with mental and moral freedom. It was to remove this objection, that the Calvinists labored so strenu-

ously to establish the fact, that destiny and moral freedom were not inconsistent ; that both doctrines were true, and of course, one of them did not disturb the other. The Arminians held and contended that moral freedom consisted with contingency ; not with predestination. The dispute turned upon the point, Is the truth with contingency or with predestination ? Both parties acknowledged the law of moral liberty ; the free and responsible agency of man. One party said, man being free and accountable, there can be no such thing as fate, destiny, absolute and universal decree, for these are incompatible. The other party contended that though man was free and accountable, yet the doctrine of predestination is true, and it perfectly consists with man's moral liberty. Hence it became a point of great importance with the Calvinists to establish the doctrine of predestination, and to reconcile it with that of human liberty ; also a great point with the Arminians to establish the doctrine of contingency, which they alleged must be requisite to man's free agency and accountableness. Undoubtedly there was misapprehension on both sides. It has never, we believe, been fully illustrated that predestination is irreconcilable with mental liberty ; nor clearly shown that both doctrines may not be true. But the discrepancy between the doctrines of contingency and destiny is apparent and palpable. If that of contingency be true, that of destiny must be, more or less, untrue and false. But what is intended by destiny or foreordination ? It implies that God hath decreed whatsoever comes to pass. And the Arminians acknowledged this, to a certain extent. But the two parties interpreted Scripture differently. " God hath chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the spirit, and belief of the truth." This passage, by the Calvinists was understood in its individual sense and application ; that God had elected the subjects of salvation individually, every man in particular, together with the predestination of all the means, conditions, and preparations. The Arminians understood it in a general sense ; that God had elected all who should comply with the conditions of forgiveness and eternal life ; therefore, He had constructively decreed the salvation of all who by repentance make their calling and election sure. An equivocal passage, — and all the Scripture-passages were equivocal, — would not decide a doctrine that was more akin to philosophy than religion. The doc-

trine of destiny, be it true or false, is a philosophical dogma. And it should be discussed and disposed of on the ground of its own merits ; and thus, also, every other doctrine, philosophical or religious. If true, it has its own support ; it stands on its own proper and independent foundation. No doctrine may lie directly on another, as one stone in a column on another. But when two doctrines are made mutually to support by leaning against each other, as do the sides of an arch, their character for truth becomes doubtful. If they cannot stand alone, or the one directly on the other, they are false.

The doctrine of predestination ought, in discussion, to be separated from that of free agency. If it be established, the doctrine of contingency falls. But that of free agency may, perhaps, stand. And how can the question be determined ? Were the Calvinists or the Arminians in the right ? Is predestination general or particular ? Look at the world. On what principles is this great system conducted ? Are they, general, or special ? Does every event indicate itself to be the product of a particular purpose, or only of general laws ? Are the tendencies which move all things in the world, regular, stated, and uniform, or are they so variable that no calculations can be made from them ? Now if the elementary laws of the world of nature be constant, regular, invariable ; if, for instance, the tendency, called gravitation, be, in the same particles, always the same ; if the various attractions and repulsions of air, heat, mineral substances, gasses, and light, be equal at all times ; this fact seems to indicate a general decree. When a particular purpose is to be accomplished by an event, the cause must be modified and adapted to the production of it. Each movement is the work of a distinct act of the will. When a man writes with a pen and makes letters composing words, every movement of his pen is the result of a distinct volition and purpose. But when the printer strikes off whole sheets from the press, the individual letters and words produced are not the objects of a particular but of a general purpose. When the husbandman plants his seed, one kernel at a time, and buries it with his hoe, the planting is particular ; but when he throws it broadcast on the furrow, and covers it with his drag, the planting is general. In both cases, there is purpose, plan, intention ; and so far are they alike. In the former case the



planting of every seed was affected by a distinct act of will ; but in the latter, the purpose, plan, and intention were all of a general character. It is obvious that a degree of contingency obtains where the plan and purpose are general. When a man plants each seed separately, selecting its place and burying it just so deep, contingency is excluded. All is done by particular purpose. But when the seed is sown broadcast, or covered by the drag, it will inevitably happen that some seeds will be better planted than others. The husbandman, however, had no particular design that one seed should be better planted than another. We have employed this similitude for the purpose of making out the distinction between a common and an individual purpose ; between a general and a particular providence.

If the actual providence of God be general, then the Arminian doctrine of contingency is, unquestionably, true. But if all parts of divine Providence be particular, then, obviously, the Calvinistic doctrine of destiny, or predestination, is established. And, it is by acquaintance with providence, itself, that we can for ourselves determine the fact. The Scriptures, being in popular language, are not so specific in their style, as to decide this question.

It is, however, frequently and strongly urged, that divine providence must be particular, in order to be the best. This allegation, however, is wholly assumptive. It is without proof. It takes for granted that a particular providence is a better one than a general. But it would be equally just to make a similar assumption in favor of the other doctrine, and to say, that a general providence is better than a particular, that, therefore, divine providence is general. It is not for man to say what providence it was best for God to adopt. Shall mortal man prescribe for his Maker ? God surely possessed the wisdom requisite to determine. He did decide, when He made the worlds. And it is our part and wisdom to follow after, and not presume to go before, Him. When we have learned what the character of providence is, we may feel sure that that is the best possible. It is ours to learn what the fact is, and not, by abstract reasoning, to determine from our own wisdom, what it ought to be ; what is the best. The Apostle Paul declares that the foolishness of God is wiser than man ; and that the weakness of God is stronger than man.

It is urged that the wisdom of God in respect to the existence of evil cannot be vindicated, except on the principle, that it is designed to be the previous cause of subsequent and overbalancing good. But why is it not as rational to believe that the evil is inherent in the system, and inseparable from it? That evil exists is certain. And there is a certain amount of it. And this amount bears a certain proportion to the sum total of good. And the amount of evil is to be subtracted from the sum total of good, in order to find the balance. The sum total of good must be greater than the balance of good. If the sum total of good could have been produced without any of the attendant evil, the system had been more perfect than it now is. In this case we should have all the good without any of the evil. And why did not the wisdom of God so ordain and establish? We may believe it was impossible. That the actual evil is inherent in the system and inseparable from it. It avails nothing to allege that the evils produce good. For the question immediately comes up; why might not the good be without the evil? And if the answer be, that it is impossible, what different is that from the doctrine, that the evils are inherent in the system, and inseparable from it?

It is very obvious that liability to evils is unavoidable in a general providence. But there are advantages attending such a providence, which could not have been secured by a particular. Under a general providence men can make calculations, employ means, and adapt them to the accomplishment of ends. For all such calculations proceed on the principle, that the tendencies and laws of nature are constant and inviolable. And if they are so, then providence is so far general. And so far as it is particular, it is supernatural. Particular providence and supernatural providence are, therefore, identical. Are, then, the tendencies of nature constant and immutable? If this inquiry be correctly answered in the negative, then we may have a particular providence; but if in the affirmative, we have a general. And in a general providence, divine decrees must also be general. All particular ends of providence are connected with supernatural acts. Of this description we must believe there are some; and have been many. But all our power, all our calculations, and our whole duty, have their foundation in a general providence. Such a providence illustrates our free agency

and accountableness. We are God's vineyard, for which He has done all that he could do, and from which He justly expects and commands that we be productive in the fruits of righteousness.

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#### THOUGHTS ON DOCTRINE AND DUTY.

DOCTRINE and Duty. Faith and Life.—What relation do they bear to each other? What is their positive, and what their comparative value, as determined by Christianity, or as they concern our salvation? This, in some form, is one of the great questions of our times, and important at all times. It is a question of difficulty, from various causes; and it may not be capable of receiving a direct answer. It cannot receive such an answer, as most inquirers are apt to demand; one in few words, and of universal truth, without qualification. There are no questions in morals or religion, that can be answered in this way; from the single fact, to omit all others, of the vagueness of common words, and the different ideas for which words stand in different minds, or to the same mind in different relations. This is seen in the question here proposed. And before we attempt to answer it, we must examine its terms, and have an understanding at least as to the meaning we attach to them. Not that we need spend time upon definitions, or that we would insist on the strict original sense. Only let it be understood in what sense we do use terms, and in what sense they are received, and it is of little consequence whether the popular acceptance be strictly accurate or not.

Of the leading terms of the inquiry on which we now enter, we suppose the popular acceptance to be this. Doctrine is that which is *believed*; Duty is that which is *done*. The one is simple Faith, the other actual Life. And the inquiry is, which is best? Which is of most worth, in the eye of God, in the judgment of Christ, as a principle of action, or a term of salvation? Can any one say, concisely and

positively ? Is there a man any where, who could or would answer in a word, where his own or another's soul was depending ? I am sure there is not. And it teaches us that which we may assume as the first position ; viz., that Doctrine and Duty can never be fairly and wholly separated.

This let us observe. Doctrine and Duty are not to be separated. Doctrine is belief. It must stand either for truth received, or for the act of the mind in receiving and holding truth. In either case, it pertains to duty. There is the duty first of seeking truth. There is the duty next of keeping the mind in a healthy state for the action of truth. There is the duty of giving truth full consideration, and giving some attention to all that claims to be truth ; or at least to suffer no prepossessions or passions, present interest or wilfulness, to prevent the approach, or pervert the influence of any truth. And there is the great fact, that all that is truly believed must have some influence, and may have absolute power, over all that is done. Belief, faith, truth or error, doctrine or precept, whatever you call it, and so far as you hold it, makes a part of the mind, a part of the man. It enters into that which he is, affects and often wholly determines that which he does. It forms and fashions the very idea of duty, it strengthens or weakens the sense of obligation, it often takes the name of religion, ascends the throne of conscience, arms itself with the sanction and authority of God, and stands to the individual believer, for that which is right, absolute, commendable and essential.

This is faith, opinion, doctrine. Is it unimportant ? Can it be severed from duty or life ? Is there any view of duty or any work in life, which it may not, and ordinarily must not affect ? What law of our intellectual or moral nature is better established or more universally in action, than that which connects the inner with the outer life, and makes the mind both the indicator and the ruler of the man ? "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." Thought and heart, the earnest opinion, the cherished sentiment — it is this that defines the will, that mighty agent in all. It is this that determines the choice, that fixes the affections, finds affinities below or above, gives even to the visible world its own complexion and power, and much more to the invisible, spiritual, eternal. These are all of faith necessarily. They must depend on that which is thought. They exist in that

and by that which is *believed*. And they make our religion. Our religion is doctrine, and our religion is duty. It is neither alone, it is both united and corresponding. Its essence is Faith, its manifestation is Life. These always have borne, they always will bear, some relation and resemblance each to the other. It will vary in expression and degree, so that the relation may seem at times to be suspended, and the resemblance may be modified by all other circumstances. But it exists, and ever will. Before Christianity and since, under all systems and with all people, the national and the individual faith is an index of the national and individual character. That, which stands for God in the soul, rules in the life. "All people will walk every one in the name of his God."

We admit there are seeming if not real exceptions to this rule, singular separations, and sometimes direct opposition, between faith and life. These we would study. They may teach us discrimination and charity, if nothing more.

First, there is the general fact of inoperative faith, a faith dead, without works of any kind. This is of common observation, and not difficult to be understood. Either it is not faith, in any proper sense of the word, or it is faith in that which is so wholly opposed to nature and experience, that it cannot or will not operate.

It is not faith. How much that is so called exists only in name, need not be shown. We should give it rather the name of doctrine, where it is anything. And this is one case in which doctrine may lead to no duty. It is hereditary and heartless. It is the creature of education, or a thing of system. It stands upon no conviction, upon no examination. It may wear a definite form; they who hold it, or to whom it attaches, may be able to define it in words, though many cannot do even that. But some there are who give it expression, and the form of sound words. They proclaim it aloud, and become vehement of you assail or question it, and condemn all who hold another doctrine. Yet it is in them utterly barren and worthless. You see no fruit, or none but an uncharitable temper. Indeed there may be nothing there, literally nothing, that you can trace to that doctrine. Whatever its name, it has no manner of power. There is emptiness of mind with it, and vanity of life. The life may not be bad, or openly wicked. It is not that

which we are now considering. It is the utter nothingness of so much that is called sound doctrine, whether strict or liberal. And it deserves mention, because, empty as it is, it is often self-complacent, and often denunciatory. It sits in judgment upon that which it has neither the capacity to comprehend, nor the charity to allow, nor the piety to love. There is a deal of fashionable orthodoxy in the church and the world, which deserves mention and reprobation. I use the word 'orthodoxy' in no restricted or sectarian sense, but only as expressing that which is supposed to be 'sound doctrine,' in whatever connection. It may be seen in all connections, and not least among those who have the majority of believers, and claim antiquity for their system. But whether there or among us, let not claims or names deceive us. It is not negative, but of positive injury to the individual and to religion, when those who call themselves, or think themselves, sound in doctrine, are empty in life; when those, who view with suspicion or abhorrence Christians of a different communion, are yet living in frivolity and vanity; seeing heaven open to them because of a nominal creed, but doing nothing for earth, or nothing for their own improvement. It is disheartening and sad, to see men and women, walking on the Sabbath as saints, and living every other day as creatures of the most worldly drudgery, or fashionable folly; slaves to sense, appearance, dress, family pride, and despotic custom, selfish boarding, and indulged appetite; and at the same time withholding even the Christian name from thousands, who are seeking the truth, subduing the temper, enjoying prayer, encouraging benevolence by word and act, and striving to lead the life of Christ. In such comparison, there can be no question which is better; the barren doctrine, ever so sound, if you can suppose it so, or the active and useful life, striving to do good, though error may belong to its creed.

There is another kind of inoperative faith. It is a belief in that which opposes nature, or is contradicted by all experience. And by opposing nature, I do not mean condemning that which is selfish or sensual in our nature, but the reverse. All truth, all pure religion, condemns the selfish and the sensual. This is one mark of truth, it is the great work of religion, and there is enough in every nature that calls for it. We are all selfish and sensual by nature; and

it is religion only, such religion as that of Christ, that can turn us from this, convict, convert, redeem us. Nor is it right in others to say, that we reject such religion, when we declare that some doctrines oppose our nature, and are therefore inoperative, and proved to be false. They oppose the good, not the evil. They war with that reason, which God himself gave, and which is itself a revelation, and the only interpreter of any revelation. They war with those attributes of God, which we know to be necessary, his justice as we understand justice every where, his mercy and love, as he appeals to them in our own hearts and best state. They war with the word of God, in the Gospel and life of Christ; for they tell us, that 'good works' are little or suspicious, when Christ says they glorify God; they tell us, that the common charities of life are no part of religion, when Christ says they make the principles and test of the final judgment; they tell us, that the whole nature of man is depraved, and all his acts, if not of grace, are of sin, when Christ recognises in the child the image of heaven, and lays the chief stress upon doing the will of God; they tell us that Christ is himself God, when God tells us, 'this is his beloved Son,' and Christ tells us that our Father is his Father, and prays to him, and owns his dependence upon him, declares that he can do nothing without him, dies and is raised by the power of God, and ever liveth to make intercession with him. These are contradictions. These must render any faith, so far as it depends upon them, inoperative; for they oppose themselves, they oppose the universal sense of language, they oppose reason, whether natural or sanctified, they are allowed by the believing and the regenerate themselves to be seeming inconsistencies, and to be received only as unintelligible and awful mysteries. They have caused perplexity and darkness in many of the strongest minds. They have chilled sympathy, and hindered faith, and emboldened skepticism. We firmly believe that in a multitude of cases, where these doctrines have come by inheritance or adoption, they are either negative or hurtful. It is very lately, and very near us, that we knew of a congregation of colored Christians, who supposed themselves Trinitarians, but who, in the simplicity and truthfulness of their nature, declared in common that they could not see, and had never believed, that Christ was God, and yet the mediator between

God and man. We adduce it as a simple and frequent fact, illustrating a class of doctrines believed to be essential, but of themselves inconsistent and inoperative, owing their power, and the good so often found in connexion with them, to other truths or higher influences.

And this shows us yet another kind of separation between doctrine and duty, and may help to explain their actual relation. We see that with an inconsistent, imperfect, and erroneous faith, there may yet be good dispositions, good influences, a good life. We see and know this, whatever view we take of right or wrong in doctrine. Without charging wrong upon any system, or bringing any sect into question, all admit that there are true Christians of every communion, and good men with all kinds of faith. There can be few, we fervently trust there are none, who doubt that there are some of every creed in Christendom, and every system on the earth, who have lived and died in favor with God, and are gathered among his chosen above. There are those who go beyond this, thinking there are as many of the faithful and accepted, in one connection as in another. But this cannot be known, and need not be judged.

Two facts are obvious here, and instructive. One is, that we by no means see, in different churches and sects, that marked difference of conduct or character, which the variance and positiveness of differing Christians would lead us to expect; no such difference ever, as would enable you to go through any community, and divide men into their different sects by ever so close an observation of their lives. You can easily distinguish them by their forms, observances, modes of expression, and channels of influence; and if by these you measure piety, you may draw the lines at once. But if you look only at the actual life, still more if you could look at the actual springs of life, the temper at home, the daily conversation, the habit of prayer, the purity of purpose, and power of principle — would you be willing to stake the soundness of your creed, to test the truth of any doctrine, by such scrutiny? No. You would find some of the best hearts and lives where many see the worst heresy; and also, some of the worst hearts and lives with the best sounding and most assured creed. And what a lesson of charity and humility is this! The other fact is a part of it; viz. the existence often of the warmest piety with the coldest creed;



the most cheerful and ardent zeal with the gloomiest faith ; a devotion and exertion that can never be surpassed, from those who believe that every thing is unalterably fixed, and each soul doomed or elected ; while those who hold the opposite, and make every thing hang upon the character and life, are perhaps asleep, inactive, indifferent, and immovable.

There is a truth here for us especially — a truth which we rejoice to own for others, and which we ask others to consider in our behalf. We rejoice in all we see, and there is much, of piety and zeal, of humility and love, and the noblest self-sacrifice, in many who differ from us most widely. In multitudes of the dead and the living, we discern the spirit of Christ, and the purity and peace of heaven. Happy beyond expression should we be, if all of our own church were equally engaged in life, and blessed in death. And yet from many of their doctrines we recoil, as from that which is not of God or Christ, truth or heaven. And they recoil from ours yet more. Do they admit as much? Do they believe that any, holding this which they call error, have been or can be so humble in spirit, so prayerful in habit, and in life faithful, that they may and must be saved? We ask not so much for the fact, as for the argument and inference. For if they do believe it of one single soul, if they would not sweep the millions, who have been and are of our faith, into hopeless destruction, they yield that which we ask as to the relation of doctrine to duty. And all they cannot sweep away. No, they *cannot*. There are those of our name in heaven, who forbid it. There are those on earth, and those passing from earth, who forbid it. They show the love of God written in their forehead, and it is read of all men. Few they may be from some points of view, few as they appear to the public gaze ; but there they are ; men of the highest aspiration and holiest devotion, of faith in God, and fidelity to Christ ; men whose presence has been purity, whose life a blessing ; men who have found in our despised faith an anchor of the soul, sure and steadfast unto the end. To connect with such men utter depravity, foul hypocrisy, final condemnation, and a black and burning hell, would not be possible for the worst bigot that ever knew them. There they are, gone and going ! What a band has been added to the company of the blessed above ! What a brotherhood can we

see now in the world of spirits, whom but a few years ago we saw and heard in the midst of us, our brothers, fathers, and helpers ! God forbid that we glory, save in his gift and goodness. But we may and will thank him, while we rejoice in their lives, or weep at their graves ; and as we speak, the grave is opening, and setting its seal to their fidelity.

But it was far from our plan or thought, to be personal, even in allusion, in this inquiry, or in any sense sectarian. We should aim at large principles, not partial views. Many principles we could deduce, even from the cursory and unfinished views now taken. The subject deserves a treatise, for it covers the whole field of religious controversy and essential truth.

One of the principles or positions which we have already reached, is this. It is not disputed doctrine, however important it may be deemed, that acts *most* on the character or life. The truths most agitated among Christians are not the most vital. If they were, we should see it in the corresponding results. On the contrary, we do see very different results where there is the same doctrine, and similar results with different and even opposite doctrines. We see good men in spite of the errors of their creed, and bad men with all creeds. It was a noble declaration which we lately heard from a venerable minister of the Baptist church, that men are made Christians by that in which they agree, more than by that in which they differ.

Another position, therefore, is, that there is a faith that affects the character, and reaches and regenerates the soul, more surely than any speculation, and apart from all exclusive doctrine. There is a faith of the heart, which is common to many systems, and may be shared by every lover of truth and duty. It is this that rules, this that unites, this that commends to God ; and not that about which the world is wrangling. There is an immense amount of truth, about which there is no wrangling among Christians. And this is the great and essential truth. In no other way can you account for the fact, that you find so much of the highest truth and good in every church. It is the common, but mighty truth of God's being and government, his providence and presence, and our strict accountableness. It is the mighty truth of Christ's divine mission, and the necessity of that holiness of heart and life, which he exhibited and required. Faith in these is better than all "the commandments of men."

And therefore it is, as another result, that so many of the doctrines of the church are negative and barren — because they are “the commandments of men.” It is not these that produce the piety and life which you revere; they exist often without them, and are not always found with them. It is not the want of these that prevents piety and the Christian life. It is the want of a true love of God, love of men, love of truth and of Christ. It is the want of a hearty faith in the power and the peril, the sin, accountableness, and immortality of the soul. “With the heart man believeth unto righteousness.” Give us the faith of the heart, let us see it working righteousness of life, and we will hail a friend of Jesus, and a laborer with God. “If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself.”

Again, we meet the question which is sure to come, and ought to come; “Do you mean by all this that doctrines are immaterial, and all neutral?” By no means. Just the opposite. Those doctrines which are “the commandments of men,” are neutral, or worse. But there are doctrines which are of God, and these are essential; these we entreat you to learn, and learn on your single and solemn responsibility. Not less, but more attention would we call to doctrines, that they may be known, spiritually discerned, and tested by the life. For this we have taken the subject. There is too little thought of doctrine, at least with us; too little, with all, of “that doctrine which is according to godliness.” Too much importance can never be attached to the truth. And truth is doctrine; sound, essential, everlasting doctrine. Only confound it not with the human and the transient; and think not that you really *believe*, unless you find it is acting upon you. Whatever its name or outward relation, either it is not truth, or it is not believed, unless it moves the heart, and moulds the life. Find the doctrine which humbles and purifies, renews and quickens, fills with love to God and man, leads to Christ, and makes it the one thing needful, *to live as Christ lived* — then thank God, and go on your way rejoicing.

With these principles in mind, sustained by all we have offered, we may attempt to answer briefly the two questions

which have been suggested throughout. What is essential Doctrine? What is essential Duty?

What is essential Doctrine? This question each class of Christians will answer, at first thought, in favor of their own doctrine. Yet they will not say, none say, that their own doctrine only has ever saved a soul. All admit the probability, if not certainty, that with other doctrines men have sometimes led the Christian life, and been saved. Therefore they abandon the assumption, that their own views are absolutely essential. They contend for their own views, and may use language and measures, which intimate the positive necessity of embracing these views, in order to be saved. Still they shrink from the implied but awful inference, that all but themselves are to be lost forever. They accuse us of misrepresentation and calumny, if we impute to them any such declaration or opinion. And thus they yield the whole, so far as it concerns the essential. This is a vast concession. It is a grave matter, not sufficiently weighed. It throws light upon our whole inquiry, and we must stop a moment to illustrate it.

The Episcopalian believes in the apostolic succession. He holds scrupulously to the divine right of Bishops, denies the validity of any other ordination, and at least doubts the efficacy of all other administrations. Yet what Episcopalian believes, that none but those whom their Bishops ordain ever preach Christ, or that all who receive ordinances and services at other hands, all other protestant sects, perish everlastingly? The Baptist believes in immersion, as the only baptism into Christ, required of all who would be Christians and be saved. Yet what Baptist would say, that all souls, whose bodies have not been under the water, are doomed to eternal destruction? Does he, who adheres most rigidly to close communion on earth, expect or desire to find a similar communion in heaven, from which all Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Catholics, are eternally excluded? No. Then the Baptist does not believe immersion to be essential. And the Episcopalian does not believe episcopacy to be essential.

Trinitarians generally insist that a belief in the trinity is essential. But what is the trinity? Which of the fifty different definitions and different doctrines is it, that is essential? Or is it only something and anything, that takes the name of trinity? Will either of the five different trinities, which Bishop

Stillingfleet has described, be sufficient? Is the Sabellian trinity as good as the Athanasian? Does Stuart in our own day hold as sound a trinity, as Sherlock did in his? If we believe in such a view as most trinitarians now give us, when we *talk* with them, shall we be accepted? Will the most sincere and pious Trinitarians say, that the millions who have believed in the simple undivided unity of God, from the first century to the present, have miserably perished, and all who shall ever take the same faith will die the same eternal death? No. Then the trinity is not essential.

Protestants generally condemn Popery, as antichrist. They give it even worse names, than any which they apply to the worst forms of protestant error. But none of them would say that there never was a pious Catholic, or that out of that vast community, so much larger than all the rest of christendom, there are not multitudes who are forgiven and saved. So even reversing the position. Papists all condemn the Protestant. But when you talk with them, you do not find an intelligent member of the whole Catholic church, who will say that no Protestant ever has been or ever can be saved. Where then is the essential doctrine?

Clearly, by the confession of all, it is not any one doctrine that can be named, or any system that can be defined, which men soberly believe to be the exclusive condition and only ground of salvation. There is not one doctrine or system, which some have not held, and yet been false and lost. There is not one doctrine or system, which some have not lived without, and yet been pious and accepted. And the simple reason is, not that systems are all bad, or doctrines ever unimportant, but that systems are human, and doctrines interpreted by fallible men. For observe, it is not the doctrine merely, which different Christians present as essential, but *their interpretation* of the doctrine; and this is always human and fallible. This shows the chief separation between us, as Unitarians, and most others. It is not the doctrine of Christ's divinity, that we pronounce untrue or unessential, but their interpretation of it; not regeneration, not conversion, not the atonement, that we reject, but only their view of them; a difference as palpable and wide, as that between divine truth and human error. And this men will see, this all humble believers do feel, when they come to the practical application of their essential doctrines, in view of all souls and everlasting life.

But is there no essential doctrine ? Yes. There is a foundation on which every man must build. The stone, which was set at nought by the builders, has become the head of the corner. "Neither is there salvation in any other ; for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." All Christians will say, CHRIST. And with our whole hearts we respond, CHRIST. And now we ask, of what are you thinking, when you repeat that name, and set it forth as the great essential ? Are you thinking of a doctrine ? And what doctrine ? "The doctrine of the Cross," would be the general orthodox answer. And one more truly orthodox and just cannot be given, in few words. But what is the doctrine of the Cross ? This ; that Christ died to save us, and that if we believe and follow him, we shall be saved ; not otherwise. *If we believe and follow* CHRIST. It must come to this. The doctrine of life is the spirit of obedience. "If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his."

There is another view of essential doctrine. It is essential that we find and hold all of truth that we possibly can. It is a small thing, to seek only so much truth as may keep us from condemnation. It is a low view of God and Christ, of duty and salvation, to ask how much we must believe, or what we must say and do, to save ourselves from hell. The great salvation is deliverance from SIN. No doctrine or life is of much worth, that does not keep us from sin. And no one can doubt, that some doctrines do deter from sin, more than others. Though it be true, that no system contains all truth, some systems contain more truth than others, and therefore will possess more moral efficacy, exert more saving power. Some doctrines, that may not lead us away from Christ, may yet fail to bring us to Christ. Some, that exalt him most in words, may create least of his spirit and life. Those are best, and may with most reason be called essential, which do most to purify the heart, to make the spirit meek, and the life useful and holy.

Let us look a moment at the doctrine of Atonement in this connection ; as that, more than any other perhaps, is now deemed essential, and supposed to have the best influence of all. What is it, that is thus regarded, under this name ? The name itself, the word "atone-ment," was never used by Christ, nor more than once is it found in the New Testament.

And then there are as many different definitions of the atonement, as of the trinity. The modern doctrine is so distinct from the ancient, that none will bear now the imputation of that which was once pronounced essential. To say then that you believe in the atonement, is to say nothing definite. We all say that. We believe in the atonement, cordially and religiously. And if any tell us, 'it is idle and a mockery in you to say so, for if you believe it at all, it is only in your own way,' we reply, 'it is only in *your* way that you believe in it.' We could add, as our firm belief, 'it is not in the scriptural way.' Trinitarians and Calvinists do not believe in the true atonement, as we read the Bible. For the doctrine there is Reconciliation, the reconciliation of man to God. But the atonement of Calvinism is one that means and requires the reconciliation of God to man. These are directly opposed, and cannot both stand. Paul says, "Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." Calvin and most trinitarians virtually say, — Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from the wrath or justice of God, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, *suspicious* of good works. The apostle writes, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." The Calvinist insists, that 'God was in Christ reconciling himself to the world.' Can both be true? We say not; and we say also, that that which is not true cannot be salutary, and is in no sense essential. At the same time, we see that there is that in the doctrine of atonement, which is true and momentous; namely, that man must be reconciled to God; and that if the life and death of Christ do not reconcile and subdue him, he is in awful peril. This we all believe. This is essential doctrine, and there is none greater, none more solemn, than this; that "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners," and that if sinners are not saved, if they are not redeemed from all *iniquity*, they are lost. Is it essential, that we believe anything as to the *mode* in which this redemption is wrought? No. But it is essential that we believe in the Fact, and the Duty it involves; believe that "the blood of Christ" answers the end for which it was shed, when it "cleanses from all sin," and only then.

The Duty. We have left little space for this, but we must answer the question, what is the essential Duty? And we

must answer, in general terms, hoping to say more hereafter. Duty pertains to everything. It pertains to all work, and all thought also. It pertains not least to doctrine, for doctrine involves truth ; and no man can know or do his duty, who does not know or seek the truth. No man does his duty, or can do it, until he has looked into the truths of religion, for these affect all his relations to God, man, and his own destiny ; — and these are doctrines. No man does his duty, who goes not to the highest sources of truth, in prayer, in study, in independent inquiry, and impartial, humble temper. No man reaches the essential duty, who becomes passively, by mere descent, custom, or fashion, a member of any sect or communion, Catholic, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Quaker, or Unitarian, even if the system into which he thus inertly falls be the true and best. It is not enough to be *attached* to any form of truth, the most orthodox, the most saving. That truth must be voluntarily sought, prayerfully studied, thoroughly imbibed, or it will not be truth to that mind, and cannot have the power of salvation.

The essential duty then is, to seek all truth, and make it a part of the individual mind, a part and principle of all *life*. But do not think that duty refers only to life. We like not the talk of some of our people, about the sufficiency of living well ; as if they could live well, if they do not live to God, or could live to God, if they study not or follow not his word in Christ. We like not the way of some preachers, in keeping wholly to the practical, exclusive of the doctrinal ; as if the doctrinal were not to be learned and well pondered, before the practical can be wholly or rightly performed. It is a flagrant evil, that any people, calling themselves Christians, do not feel it an imperious duty to learn what Christianity is, in all its parts, and be able to explain and defend their view of it. To be ignorant of religion, to have no settled opinions, no established and treasured doctrines, is dishonorable and dangerous. There is a knowledge that is *essential* to strength of conviction and soundness of faith. There is a doctrinal duty, as well as a practical duty. Men must have, they will have, some doctrines ; and woe unto them, if they be not the doctrines of truth. If religion does not lie in opinions or forms, neither does it lie in the decencies and moralities of life. Why confine it to either ? How clear, that religion, obligation, duty, comprises *all* we can do for the good of man, for



the truth of Christ, for the salvation of souls, and thus for the glory of God.

Does it all point to anything, so much as to the spirit, and the spiritual life? Has religion such essential connection with any words, forms, doctrines, or set of duties, as with the habitual frame in the sight of God, controlling the habitual walk among men, that is, the Heart, the inward and outward Life, the whole Character, the living Soul?

E. B. H.

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#### THE LATE REV. PROFESSOR WARE.

THE following are extracts from a discourse, preached in the Chapel of the University at Cambridge, and in the New North Church, in Boston, on the Sunday immediately following the death of the Rev. Professor Ware, Jun.

The preacher having spoken of the happiness of those, "over whom the second death shall have no power," and of the distinguished honor conferred on those, who, by their labors and their lives, "have turned many to righteousness," thus adverted to the bereavements, to which our churches and religious community had recently been called.

Let us rejoice, my brethren, and give thanks to God for our assurance of faith, that such is the destiny, nay, such, we will rather trust, is already the happiness of those, our honored friends and brethren, who within a few revolving months have in rapid succession been taken from among us. Within a very short period, the ravages of death, especially in the ranks of the clergy, have been alike frequent and signal. A year is but just now completed, since we were called with this community, and all the lovers of truth and goodness throughout the land to mourn, that a light of unusual lustre had been withdrawn;\* and that lips, that could plead with surpassing eloquence for God and man, were silenced in the

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\* Rev. William Ellery Channing, D. D., who died Oct. 2, 1842.

grave. A kindred spirit, partaker of his gifts, and unto him as a brother,\* who in another calling united the finest conceptions of genius and the most exquisite productions of art, with an humble piety that sanctified them both, soon followed him to the heavenly rest. By a providence no less sudden, the respected Pastor of a neighboring church† was surprised in the walks of public instruction by the summons of death, even while uttering the words of life, and honoring by his just eulogium the memory of a friend, whose remains he had but just committed to the tomb. Yet, more recently, another honored servant of God, who by his gifts and his life had adorned his profession, whose name will never cease to be revered by them to whom he ministered, and who will live in his works long after his wasted form shall have mingled with its parent dust, slept sweetly in Jesus.‡ And now, even with others, whose names and whose virtues will at once occur to your remembrance, we have been called within a few passing days to commit to their resting place, the remains of one long honored among us, whose voice was always welcomed in our churches, whose gifts were consecrated in no common measure to the highest objects, and who has left behind him a memory that cannot perish.

It is not needful that I should delineate here the character of one already so well known. The form, the voice, enfeebled at last by disease, the gifts and virtues, that no disease impairs, of my departed brother, are already familiar here. You need not, that I should remind you of his distinguished worth. Rather let us mingle together, my brethren, our mutual recollections, and seek the instructions, which in his departure from among us we all must need.

It is chiefly in his relations to our University, and to the church of Christ; as a minister of religion, and a teacher in the school of the Prophets, that I would speak of our departed friend. But with these, his official, were inseparably united those personal graces, which gave to his character as a man, its attraction, its beauty, and usefulness.

For the Christian ministry he was peculiarly fitted, by his

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\* Washington Allston, Esq.

† Rev. David Damon, Minister of a church in West Cambridge.

‡ Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, D. D.

early and decided predilections, for it was the choice of his childhood ; by the felicity of his domestic education in the beautiful village of his birth ; by the examples it was there his favored lot to witness ; by all the habits of his mind, and especially by his youthful piety. Even as was the seer of Israel, Henry Ware was consecrate from his youth. Having received the honors of the University in 1812, and having been engaged for a season in the instruction of youth, chiefly in the Academy of Exeter, he completed his course of theological preparation, and entered upon his public labors as a preacher in 1816. Upon the death of the venerable Dr. Lathrop, he was ordained on the first day of the following year, (1817,) as Pastor of the Second Church in Boston.

Of his earliest labors in the sacred desk it may perhaps be said, that they gave only imperfect indications, either of the ability or success by which he was afterwards distinguished. It was rather with a calm approbation than with raptures of enthusiasm that he was at first received. He was not exposed to the trial, neither did he experience the humiliation, which not seldom follows a premature popularity. It was not till a few years had passed, that his people, and with them the community, understood the full power, and excellence of the spirit that was in him. The fact is not without its use, and I advert to it for the purpose, as it is fruitful of encouragement to those, who perhaps with inferior gifts, are either contemplating, or have already entered upon the same calling. For never were there happier results to beginnings so healthful, because unmingled with idolatrous applause. A feeble church was strengthened ; a little one became a thousand. The young flocked to his ministry. The aged, who called him, dwelt on his lips with fondness, and witnessed with a parental joy the good fruits of his labors. Few ministries have been more signally blessed. His influence was not confined to his peculiar flock, but was gradually diffused through the whole community. And how many minds have by his teachings been enlightened ; how many hearts have been allured to goodness ; how many have been turned from sin to righteousness ; how many sorrowing spirits have by his consolations been sustained ; in fine, how many immortal souls have been won to Christ and heaven — are known as yet only to Him, who is the witness and the re-

warder of all. "But they shall be known," saith God, "in the day when I make up my jewels."

Dr. Ware commenced his ministry at a period of more than usual excitement, and of advancing changes in our churches. The sources of these changes, on which I need not enlarge, were unquestionably of earlier origin, but the effects then became manifest. I have said, that his first public services did not give presage of his future eminence. But upon the publication of his historical discourses, preached in May, 1821, on the completion of a century from the establishment of his church, it was evident what hopes might be entertained concerning him. From that period may be dated the prominent place, which he ever afterwards sustained in the varied relations of his profession, with his brethren, his flock, and the Christian community. His mind, active almost to restlessness, was fruitful of suggestions, which he readily matured into plans, for the moral and spiritual improvement of all whom he could influence; and the measures he was earnest to propose, he was not less zealous and determined to pursue. The various projects of a literary, philanthropic, or religious nature, which then first engaged the attention of the community, the associations for the promotion of Peace, of Temperance, for the relief of Poverty, for the religious instruction of the Poor, for the wider diffusion of our faith, most of which were in their origin coeval with his ministry, and have since become identified with the character of the times, met his hearty concurrence, and failed not of his effectual help.\* His unceasing activity of mind, united with singular facility of execution, tempted him, however, to efforts beyond his strength. There was that within him, which consumed him. And much as we may admire the disinterestedness of his zeal, it is impossible for us, now that his labors have ceased, and his precious life has closed, not to lament that in the fervors of the spiritual, he was tempted to forget what the Maker of our frames has ordained, and none may with impunity violate, for

\* To the religious and literary journals of the day his contributions were frequent and valuable. Of the *Christian Disciple* he was for a considerable period the faithful editor; and in the *Christian Examiner*, which succeeded it, some of its most valuable articles were the productions of his pen. His publications, chiefly of a professional nature, were numerous. An accurate list of these, found among his papers, may be seen in the appendix to the interesting discourse delivered on the Sunday after his death, by Rev. Chandler Robbins, Dr. Ware's successor in the Second Church.

the welfare of the physical being. In this, let him be to us rather for monition than example.

If we seek for the causes of the distinguished success of his ministry, one certainly of the most efficient will be found in the *earnestness*, combined with the humility of his spirit. The union of these graces was in him a distinguishing trait. His earnestness was singularly tranquil. It was a wise and chastened earnestness. It did not exhaust itself in a single peculiar cause, or upon an exclusive object. It was a zeal chastened by humility; by a just appreciation of the objects that interested others, while it was intent on those he had selected for his own. He loved his profession — the true secret of success. He loved the scenes of its appropriate duties — the pulpit and the dwellings of the flock; and, as is recorded in praise of a devout monarch of Israel, “Whatsoever he did for the House of the Lord, he did it with his whole heart, and it prospered.” The people saw it, and they trusted him.

And here I cannot but remark — it is forced upon my notice by the aspects, shall I say, the lowering aspects of the times — that in this devotion to his sacred calling, in union with his distinguished success, Dr. Ware has bequeathed an example, worthy to be imitated alike by the elder and the younger of his brethren. If we of the clergy would maintain the due influence, I do not say of *our* ministry, but of the religion for which the ministry was ordained; if amidst theories and speculations, that would exalt the little devices of man above the ordinances, and even the truth of God, we would speak that word with power, we must *give ourselves*, as the apostle writes, to that ministry; nor substitute any mistaken schemes of our own, under a delusive plea of duty or conscience, (names so often abused to justify fatal errors,) for the glorious gospel of the blessed God.

In his relations to the University, and as a teacher in our school of the Prophets, they who were the objects of his instructions, and they who were his fellow-laborers in that chosen work, the witnesses of his fidelity and zeal, are better qualified to bear testimony than am I. The successive generations of those, who were taught by his meek wisdom, and have gone from those hallowed scenes of their preparation with the rich blessing of his friendship and prayers, will re-

member gratefully how they have received, how they did reap of the fruit of his lips, and were allured to holiness by the sanctity of his life.

If amidst varied and burdensome duties, in part from the habits of his mind, and yet more from the pressure, — but too frequent, — of bodily infirmity, there was sometimes less exactness or fulness in his instructions, than might have been sought, there was still that which is better than all method or the most exact philosophy, — the true spirit of wisdom, the best results of learning, even of the wisdom that cometh from above, an unaffected piety and hearty charity, a pure and holy zeal. Such was the confidence he inspired in the integrity of his heart, in the sincerity of his friendship, and in the devotedness of his spirit, that, I believe, no student ever departed from his care, without a sentiment of veneration and even of filial love.

In truth, it was the peculiar felicity of our friend adequately to be appreciated only by those, whose vocation involves continual public efforts, that if, on any single or peculiar occasion, he might seem to fail, as others fail, of his accustomed excellence, or of the high standard, that alone could satisfy himself, he never failed of a respectful, I had almost said, a reverent attention, or, of what to his disinterested view was far more to be valued, an useful impression. Men waited for his words, and knowing the purity of the spirit that breathed them, they suffered no one of them to fall to the ground. The gift of his instructions might not at all times be alike costly, but it was offered from a holy altar ; and “ the altar sanctified the gift.”

In intimate connexion with this, let me speak of the simplicity of his character, rejecting all artifice, impatient of the slightest affectation or pretence, combined with manners plain and unobtrusive ; and by those who knew not the inward warmth of his affections, liable to be mistaken for coldness, or for inattention to the courtesies of polished life. He could not be regarded as eminently social. Though his affections were kind and he loved his friends, he could live and act alone. His chosen employments and satisfactions were in his study, or within his domestic circle. But in the singleness of his character and absolute truthfulness, that would never express more than was felt, was the essential element of his power.

In this, as in some other traits, we recognise a near resemblance between him and our other lamented brother, to whom Dr. Ware was allied in intimate friendship, and whom within so brief an interval he followed to the tomb. There was indeed some remarkable correspondence, not less in the trials of their lot, than in the graces of their character. Who, that knew him, could fail to recognise in the lamented Greenwood the same simplicity and godly sincerity ; the same dislike even to hatred of all guile ; the same integrity of heart and conduct ; the same reverence of God and the great things of God's law ; the same love of his calling, and quiet and efficient devotion to its duties ? And who, too, that knew them both, could but lament, that spirits touched to such issues were lodged in such feeble frames ? Brothers they were in faith and in one hope of their calling. Brothers, also, they were in the trial of infirmity. The strength of each it pleased God to weaken in his way. Each was called, even at a youthful age, but amidst threatening disease, to resign the charge of a cherished flock. Each was compelled to seek among strangers, whom they quickly changed to friends, and in distant climes, where God himself made for them an home, the strength that failed them in their native land. To each were months and even years of sickness appointed ; and now at their meridian age, and within the interval of a few short weeks, do they both lie down together in the "caverned earth." "Lovely were they and pleasant in their lives : and in death they were not divided."

If among the appointments of a perfect Providence there be any that in our imperfect vision we may call mysterious ; for which even faith itself and an unshaken trust seek to be resolved, we surely must number those, by which the gifted and the good are taken away ; holy purposes are broken off ; and they, who could speak and live for God and their fellow-men, are silenced in death. But blessed be God, they do not die. The sickness that wastes the body quenches not the spiritual life. There is a beautiful compensation, too, in such appointments of God, worthy of our grateful contemplation. Through the sympathy that infirmity awakens ; through the peculiar virtues that sickness cherishes ; through the added tenderness and spirituality it conveys to the inward spirit ; through the touching tones it conveys to the voice, the gifted and submissive sufferer not seldom exerts a power

surpassing far his influence in health. "Are you aware," said one in speaking of the ravages of sickness in a friend whose lips were touched of heaven, "are you aware how consumption tunes the voice, and by its deeper and more touching tones makes it mighty to persuade?"

It was beautiful to perceive, — for it revealed to us the unchangeable power of goodness which not pain nor death can impair, — how the influence of our departed friend remained long after his active labors had ceased; how effectually he spoke from the chamber of sickness, or the domestic abode, in the silent influence of example, long after he had ceased from the pulpit of instruction and the house of prayer. And now, united with others that have gone before, is he before the throne of God, serving him in his temple. Now are they priests unto God and to Christ. And though eye hath not seen, and heart cannot conceive the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him; and though we would give indulgence to no delusive fancies in regard to the employments and felicity of the spiritual world, yet may we not believe, that for such, a blessed ministry is appointed, — a ministry of celestial charity and love, — as well as an unspeakable happiness prepared? If they delighted in doing good on earth, they shall not want the opportunity of doing good in heaven. For are they not, asks the Apostle, "ministering spirits sent forth to minister," — who knows but in other worlds, — "to them who shall be heirs of salvation?" And there being set free from all the infirmities of earth, while they behold God's face in glory, all their desires and all their pure ambition shall be forever satisfied.

Amidst our deep regrets for the departure of these our cherished and honored friends, we should be faithless indeed to our best convictions and hopes, did we not remember, that it is well with them; that they have exchanged infirmity and pain, and a world out of which we must die, for a world in which there is no death and no change but from glory to glory. Let it please the God, who hath chastened us, to make this our bereavement the ministry of instruction and peace to our souls. May it be richly blest, not only to them, who shared his domestic affections, and to whom he was inexpressibly dear; not only to the venerable parent, called in his declining years to mourn the loss of such a son, and who will not fail, amidst natural grief, gratefully to



remember the peculiar honor and happiness conferred upon his house, in ministries transferred even to the third generation, and in spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus ; but may it be sanctified to the University, who cherished him in his youth as among her favorite sons, and honored him in his manhood as a faithful guide ; to the school of the Prophets, which he instructed by his wisdom, and blest by the sanctity of his life ; to the successive generations of the sons of the Prophets, who have gone forth from these hallowed scenes laden with the treasures of his experience, and the blessing of his intercession ; to that church of Christ that was the peculiar object of his pastoral care, to which with holy hands he did dispense the bread of life ; to all the churches of the Lord Jesus partaking of a common faith, who have heard the word from his lips, or were gladdened by his ministrations ; to all of us, his friends and brethren, who rejoiced in his light, and shared his fraternal love. And while we cherish the same sustaining faith, which he uttered even with his dying lips, "that the church below is one with the church above," and that death itself cannot divide them ; while we treasure up in our memories the sacred legacy he hath bequeathed us of his peace and love,\* let us seek, each in our several vocations, to imitate his virtues. May we be quickened, by the monitions of successive bereavements, to "work the work of Him that sent us while it is day," that so we may be numbered with them over whom "the second death hath no power," with them who, having faithfully served their Master upon earth, shall shine as the stars forever and ever.

F. P.

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\* To a clerical friend, who visited him at Framingham, a few days before his death, he expressed, though amidst extreme weakness, the sentiment quoted above, and as he bade him farewell, said, "Peace and love to the brethren."

## NOTICES OF MR. WHEELER.

It is not the circle of the ministry alone which, during the past year, has sustained great and irreparable losses. Literature also has been called to mourn over the premature departure of several of her most promising sons. Cleveland, Wheeler, and Bartlett, kindred spirits in their devotion to learning, and exemplary in the virtues of the Christian life, the two last preparing themselves for the work of the ministry, have within a few months, by violent and sudden disease, been consigned to the grave. They have been taken away almost in their youth, before they had more than just entered upon the labors that would so certainly have distinguished them, but happily, not before they had given the most satisfying evidence, that religion had found a deep and sure place in their hearts, had wrought there its proper work, and prepared them in their principles, habits, and affections, for the higher life to which, we humbly trust, they have ascended.

Of Mr. Wheeler, we are happy to be able to present a biographical sketch by his instructor and friend, Professor Felton. We have been permitted to transfer it to our pages from the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, where it appeared immediately after the news was received of the decease of Mr. Wheeler. To this we also add an extract from a "Biographical Notice," by a classmate, which has been published in a separate pamphlet.

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The death of Mr. Charles Stearns Wheeler is not only a great loss to his family and his personal friends, but to this community. His career, though short, was an unbroken progress in honorable pursuits and not undistinguished labors. His last illness overtook him in a foreign land, in the midst of various and active studies, and large and liberal preparations for a life of letters and professional duties.

Mr. Wheeler belonged to a family of independent New England farmers. The bracing toils and invigorating breezes of country life, in which his early youth was passed, had knit his frame with health and strength. When he entered college,

at the age of sixteen, his face and figure showed that he possessed the hardihood to grapple like a man with the work that lay before him. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the Cambridge University in 1837, among the foremost in a class of more than the usual proportion of able and studious young men. His time had been conscientiously employed upon the appropriate duties of the place. When he was graduated, he had mastered, besides the common course of college studies, several of the modern languages, and had acquired, for his age, an extensive knowledge of general literature.

After taking the first degree, Mr. Wheeler engaged in teaching a private school in the town of Cambridge. In this occupation, his genial character, his amiable temper, his ready sympathies, and his faithful industry gave him signal success. The intellectual and moral influences he exercised upon his pupils were salutary and profound; and his relinquishment of this occupation caused no little regret to the parents and friends of those who had been placed under his care. In 1838, the Greek Tutorship in the University becoming vacant, Mr. Wheeler was appointed to that office. He entered at once upon its duties, and devoted himself with his accustomed energy to all the studies embraced within the range of his department. It is but an act of simple justice, to say, that he not only prepared himself for his new occupations, with laborious and conscientious care, but that his labors were crowned with uncommon success. In his mode of instruction he combined the characters of teacher and friend; maintaining order, with no repulsive austerity, and exhibiting great frankness and simplicity of manners, without losing the controlling influence which naturally belonged to his talents, his position, and his learning. The matter of his instruction was varied and exact. He united to great precision, in teaching the elements and grammatical principles of the Greek language, that enlarged knowledge of collateral and illustrative subjects — of history, the arts, the political character and condition of antiquity, which add the living interest of human destinies, pursuits, and passions, to the study of what are called the dead languages. By this happy union of various and contrasted excellencies, he rendered his instruction at once useful and interesting.

In the discharge of his duties within the college walls, Mr. Wheeler was vigilant and efficient. No desire of popularity unnerved his vigor, when called upon to administer the neces-

sary but often disagreeable acts of discipline which pertained to his office. He never shrunk through fear of personal consequences from the exact performance of duties, which often brought him into the relation of a censor upon the conduct of the students. The annoyances which students, irritated by the rebukes of a conscientious disciplinarian, are capable of inflicting, and which sometimes make the life of a college officer uneasy and undesirable, had no power to deter him from acting up to his own sense of what his position in the University required at his hands. All those, who were connected with him, whether as pupils or associates, must now look back upon this part of his conduct with approbation and respect.

Mr. Wheeler continued in the office of Greek Tutor, four years; and when the department of history was organized under its present distinguished head, in addition to all his other duties, he undertook the instruction of the two younger classes in this branch. He carried into this new career of labor the same comprehensive spirit and searching industry, which had given him remarkable success elsewhere. Not contenting himself with mastering the contents of the text books he was called upon to teach, he studied deeply the history of the period over which his instructions extended, consulting the best authors of different ages and nations, and communicating to his classes the results of his inquiries by familiar lectures, enlarging, explaining, illustrating, or qualifying the statements contained in the manuals, which the students were required to read.

The want of a good edition of Herodotus, some portion of whose writings is usually read in college, led Mr. Wheeler to form the plan of editing this great historian. His labors upon this author, during several years of instruction, had already in part qualified him for this task. Having laid out his scheme, he at once set about executing it with his accustomed thoroughness and despatch. He collected the principal editions of his author, went through an extensive study of the commentators, brought together all the illustrations of modern travellers, geographers, and antiquaries, compared these with each other, corrected the errors of some by the more exact researches of others, and thus drew up a body of notes, which are entitled to great praise for their comprehensiveness, condensation, neatness, and accuracy. This excellent and learned work was published in 1842; it met with a most favorable reception, and has been already adopted in the principal colleges of the United States. Foreign scholars have also noticed it with applause.

To complete the picture of Mr. Wheeler's industry, it should be mentioned, that amidst this multiplicity of occupations, he found time to study a course of theology, which he completed before leaving the University. He was licensed to preach, and the discourse which he read on that occasion is said to have been a performance of remarkable merit.

At the close of the Academic year of 1842, Mr. Wheeler, to the regret of his associates, resigned his place in the College, for the purpose of carrying into effect a cherished plan of travel and study, for which he had long been making preparations. By five years of industry and economy, he had provided ample pecuniary means for executing this scheme in a manner becoming a scholar and a gentleman. When his resignation was known to the members of the University, the class, that had been the last year under his special instruction, manifested their attachment to him, and their sense of his services and of his character, by transmitting to him, through the hands of one of their number, a beautiful and costly present. — The manner in which he was affected by this proof of regard is best seen in the following letter, which deserves to be perpetuated for the beauty and simplicity of its expression, the tenderness of feeling and the purity of purpose breathing through every line.

Cambridge, July 15, 1842.

DEAR SIR: — My surprise and emotion, when you put into my hands the presents of your Class, allowed me only so imperfect and indistinct an expression of my thanks, that you must excuse me if I trouble you upon the subject.

Allow me then through you to say, to "the Class of 1845," that I am deeply sensible of their kindness and generosity; that no tokens of their regard could have been more delicately chosen, and more welcome; and that long years (if indeed such a time ever be) must pass, and I become another man, before I can look upon them as common things, or use them without recalling the faces of those who gave them, and the hours which their indulgence has made happy ones.

The past year has been one of unprecedented calamity to me, as respects my family relations. A brother, and an only sister, to the labor of whose hands I owe in part the advantages of a College education, have been called away from this troubled life; and my own existence made sad by a sense of being almost alone in the world, and by sympathy with a desolated household. It has been to me in my seasons of trouble a source of no slight

enjoyment, that in many countenances I could read the plainest signs of sympathy, and that you all have been so careful to refrain from everything which could have grated harshly upon my feelings.

You will allow me to add, that valuable as your presents intrinsically are, I shall prize them chiefly as the proofs of your affection to me. You have done me a great service in this simple act of kindness. You have given me a confidence in myself, which some of the events of previous years had well nigh destroyed, and which was essential to my success and usefulness in life; and for this above all things, though you may not have thought of it, my warmest thanks are due.

I part from you with the earnest hope that I may be permitted to do something, at some future time, for individuals of your number, if not for the whole class, to make you aware of my sense of obligation. In this, however, I may fail; but I shall not fail to hear with pleasure that you are happy and successful; that you are good, and that you do good.

My relations with you have been, and I hope ever will be, sources of real happiness. You will find among those, who are to be your teachers, men wiser and better than he who now bids you farewell; but no one who will retain more pleasant recollections of you each and all.

I could say much more to you from my inmost heart, but I will stop here. I only add my prayer that you may, while in this world, live above its meannesses and sins, and in the perfect enjoyment of all its loveliness and beauty; that from every social relation you may extract the sweet without the bitter; and that you may one and all while here grow up into such vital connexion with the eternal laws of beauty, truth, and goodness, as shall be the pledge and the realization of immortality.

I am most truly and sincerely your friend and servant,

C. S. WHEELER.

It must always be a grateful reflection to the generous and high-minded young men, who made this graceful acknowledgment of the virtues and excellencies of their departed instructor, that they have thus cheered a gentle spirit, which, serene as it ever appeared, had yet been deeply wounded by the loss of near relatives, and by many painful crosses which he had been called upon to bear, during the last year or two of his life.

Having completed his arrangements, Mr. Wheeler embarked in one of the New York packets for Havre, in August, 1842, and after a pleasant voyage, reached that port, Sep-

tember 3d. He commenced his journey into Germany at once, and without stopping to visit Paris, travelled through Belgium, and up the Rhine to Heidelberg, which he intended as his first residence. His letters show that he made the best possible use of the brief delays, which the rapidity of his journey allowed him in the principal cities, such as Antwerp, Brussels, Aix la Chapelle, and Cologne. They abound in minute observations of the country, the people, the buildings, and all those objects of art and nature which would naturally attract the attention of an inquisitive and cultivated American traveller. Not a moment was lost; not an object, that came within the range of his observation, was unheeded. He reached Heidelberg, Sept. 24, where he immediately entered upon the course of study he had marked out for himself. He had already mastered the difficulties of the German language, before leaving the United States; and in a short time he was able to attend the lectures of the professors, and to mingle in the society of the place with pleasure and profit. The letters of introduction, with which he was furnished, secured to him the kind attentions of the most distinguished persons in that seat of learning; and his own simple manners, intelligent conversation, and earnest desire of knowledge rapidly enlarged the range of his acquaintance far beyond the academic circles. Mr. Miittermayer, one of the greatest names in the literature of Germany, says in a letter, "Mr. Wheeler frequents my house. He is a very distinguished man, animated with great zeal for science, and his manners show him to be a man of education. — He has made great progress in the German, and I suppose that he will in a few months be able to speak it fluently. I will certainly look for every opportunity to be of use to him." He heard the lectures of the principal professors; of Schlosser, on History; of Ullmann, on Ecclesiastical History; and of Baehr, the learned editor of Herodotus, and the head of the Philological Seminary, the exercises of which he constantly attended, besides the lectures of many others on various branches of literature. In addition to this, he had, under the advice of Professor Baehr, begun the collation of one of the orations of Lysias in Greek, with the oldest existing manuscript. He had also commenced the translation of a work on Roman History, from the German. What progress he made in these two undertakings is not yet known. These occupations, and a variety of other private studies, joined to much intercourse with the society, both of Heidelberg and the neighboring ducal

residence of Manheim, filled up his time, laboriously but delightfully, until about the 1st of March, 1843, when he left Heidelberg for Goettingen. Here he remained a month, attending lectures, and forming acquaintances with the distinguished men connected with the University — enlarging his knowledge in every direction, and gaining the friendship of all with whom he came in contact. Early in April, he left Goettingen in company with a friend and countryman; visited Weimar and Jena, and then went to Leipsic, where he was seized with illness about the first of May. This illness soon took the form of a violent gastric fever, which defied the best medical skill Leipsic afforded, and, after six weeks of suffering, closed his life on the 13th of June, at the age of twenty-six. Mr. Heath, the young friend just alluded to, attended him with affectionate assiduity during this long and terrible illness, and was by his bedside when he died. With this exception, his last days were passed wholly among strangers, more than three thousand miles from his native land.

I have thus drawn a rapid sketch of the literary life of Charles Stearns Wheeler. His character combined an assemblage of virtues, talents, and excellencies, which gave the amplest promise of future distinction. The constitution of his mind was calm, serene, gentle. During an acquaintance of many years, I have never seen his temper ruffled for a moment, even in the most irritating circumstances; and the testimony of those who have known him from childhood is to the same effect. His handsome and healthful countenance, ever open, cheerful, and smiling, well expressed the beauty of his soul. His manners were frank and honest, like those of a good-humored child. There was no disguise, no concealment, no intrigue, no suppression of thought or purpose in his transparent nature. His mind, though not brilliant, was large, capacious, and strong. His powers, taken singly, were of uncommon vigor; and combined and balanced as they were, formed an intellect singularly adapted to grapple with a great variety of literary and scientific pursuits. His curiosity was intense; and his sympathies, intellectual and moral, embraced every form of speculation and every variety of character. He was sometimes too much absorbed with the whimsical novelties which the agitations of the age have brought to the surface of the foaming sea of philosophical and religious discussion. But there lay, at the foundation of



his intellectual and moral being, a strength of common sense, which remained unshaken by the sophistries of the age, against which minds of less solidity have been unable to stand. His clear intellectual vision saw the good in the ethical and religious theories that, with kaleidoscopic rapidity, have appeared, dazzled, and vanished during the last few years; and the purity of his moral nature rejected, without an effort, the baneful elements which have been blended with them.

Mr. Wheeler had an extraordinary self-control. All the sensual propensities were held in strict subordination to his higher nature. He never sought in the violence of youthful passions an excuse for youthful excesses. During the perilous years of college life, when the young man is released from the moral restraints of home, when the peculiar clannish spirit of the place, and the codes of college honor, take away to a certain extent the controlling influences of public opinion, of society, and of law, and when many are hurried into acts of violence, or intemperate indulgences, which they think venial at the time, but look back upon with regret if not with remorse, Wheeler kept himself pure and unspotted. No appetite enslaved him; no excesses weakened his mental powers; no time was lost in recovering from the effects of untimely festivities. And so every day found his intellectual faculties alert, calm, and prepared to turn each passing moment to the best account. He possessed the rare talent of using his time well. The smallest fragment of leisure was devoted to its appropriate object; moments that most persons waste, because they are *only* moments, he made precious by doing or acquiring. This uninterrupted command of his powers, this prompt application of the smallest intervals of time, explain the secret of his comprehensive and exact scholarship, acquired in the midst of duties and labors, that might be supposed sufficient to occupy all of his time, and to exhaust his energies. At the period of his death, his knowledge was rapidly increasing, and his powers were unfolding under the generous culture which he was bestowing upon them. Classical literature, history, philosophy, and theology shared his attention by turns. His learning in these departments was consolidating and systematising itself; clear and distinct views were forming in his mind; and he was rapidly fitting himself to become a teacher in the highest sense of the word; to contribute to the literature and science

of the country, and to adorn her intellectual annals. No young man has left the University for many years, who gave brighter promise of usefulness and distinction ; no man has died at his early age, who has crowded into his short life more of honorable toil. His family and friends may well console themselves by the reflection, that though suddenly called to die, the call found him with no duty unperformed, no task neglected, no opportunity of mental or moral culture thrown away.

The few pages which follow are from the " Biographical Notice " above mentioned. After reverting to the principal incidents in Mr. Wheeler's life, the writer proceeds, —

We come now to another important occupation of Mr. Wheeler, during the years of his tutorship at Harvard. Previous to his graduation in 1837, he had determined to devote himself to the ministry, and this determination was never in his subsequent life left out of mind. Having devoted a portion of his time to the requisite studies, he was approbated to preach but a few weeks previous to his departure, and had for a few times, assumed the duties of his profession in supplying the pulpits of his clerical friends. He was never connected as a student, with the Divinity School at Cambridge, though he was an attendant at certain of its lectures and other exercises. His idea of the duties of his office was enlarged and exalted. Conscious of the narrowing influence of certain of the pastoral relations as they exist ordinarily among us, it was his wish, as it would have been his aim, to avoid confining his sympathies, efforts, and affections to the limited circle of a parish or a sect. Himself an inquirer and earnest seeker after spiritual truth, he was liberal in his toleration, and eclectic in his philosophy. Not a Swedenborgian, he found much of value and beauty in the works of Emanuel Swedenborg, and freely accepted and gratefully acknowledged all the good which was afforded at his hands. A student of philosophy, he was no man's blind disciple. A preacher of the Gospel and of Goodness, he wished to be no sectarian advocate. In sympathy and in form an Unitarian Preacher, he had a heart to love all holiness, and a mind to appreciate all worthiness and truth. Firm in his view, while it was to him vital, he deemed it no shame to change, and could look back in recollection and

forward in prospect of modification, confident in the results of honest, earnest, and prayerful seeking after truth. In a letter written at New York, whither he had gone to embark, and on the very day of his departure, he thus speaks, —

“ I do not let myself realize the length of my absence from you. God bless you, and keep you. Whether we shall ever meet again on earth, he only knows; but two who are so near and dear to one another must meet again; if not here, then hereafter. I wish you to think of what I said to you when we were together in Roxbury, as I feel that I have now nothing better to say than that. Two years may make me a wiser, and a better, and a loftier man; but they will not so change me but what I shall be willing, nay glad, to tell you my best then.”

The conversation here alluded to was held but just previous to his departure, and embodied his idea of Christ, and of the Sacrament of the Communion. It was his view as then attained, warmly and heartily real to him, but held not as immutable, not necessarily permanent. That morbid feeling for consistency, which would prevent progress for fear of discordance, had no influence over him. We ask not that the tune of to-day shall resound henceforth forever in our ears, but only seek a harmony in the sounds that, occurring in close connection, go to form the tune. Though to-day's note be joyous, to-morrow's may be sad, and yet the instrument is still perfect, and the change is in the touch which sweeps its chords.

Intellectual improvement, professional and general, was Mr. Wheeler's object in going abroad. It had long been his cherished wish to complete in Europe a course of study preparatory to any permanent establishment in life, and though circumstances of a domestic nature seemed for a time to rise up in opposition to the accomplishment of his plan, it was carried into execution, and in August, 1842, he took leave of his numerous friends, and sailed for Havre, in view of two years' residence abroad. In conformity with his original plan, he proceeded to Heidelberg, and in this ancient University City passed the winter of 1842-3, engaged in the acquisition of the German language, attendance on certain lectures, and study of philosophic and classic literature. The purposes in furtherance of which this tour was undertaken are succinctly declared in a letter written to the present writer, soon after the death of a brother. He has spoken of the affliction which has befallen

him, and of its possible influence upon his plans. As to his visit abroad, he says, —

“All will depend upon a conscientious view to be taken some eight months hence, of the advantages of going to Germany compared with those of staying at home. I shall not go to gratify any whim, curiosity, or love of distinction. But if I feel that I can probably become a wiser and better man, nobody will blame me for following my early passion.”

The visit thus conscientiously undertaken was carefully improved, and the history of the winter spent at Heidelberg is one of industry and progress. The first months were of necessity mainly devoted to the acquisition of the language, and to this end an attendance on certain lectures was made subservient. Study, social intercourse, and the enjoyment of the scenery and the works of art of Heidelberg and its neighboring Mannheim had served to pass the time quickly and pleasantly away, till in March last a change of residence promised increased advantages. In early March Mr. Wheeler reached Göttingen, and joined there a friend with whom the summer was to be passed in travel and in study. The last letter which the present writer received from him bore date at this city, and is in part as follows, —

“We think to leave Göttingen on 3d April for Weimer and Jena, and shall divide that month between those cities, Leipzig, Dresden, and Halle. The operations for the succeeding months are yet undetermined.”

The next succeeding month was passed upon a bed of illness, and on the 13th day of June, death, with gentle hand, put a period to his earthly pilgrimage, and freed his pure and lovely spirit for a wider range and loftier teachings than this world in all its riches can bestow. A foreign land has received the remains of one who was so dear, and strangers' hands have hollowed out his grave. No mother's form was bending over his death-pillow, no father's broken voice breathed over him a prayer. The eyes, which have been brightened by his smile, had not the melancholy privilege of pouring their tears above his marble brow. The hands, that had but lately grasped his own in a hopeful and trustful farewell, can never again renew their affectionate pressure. The word of love, which bade him God-speed as he left us, can never again reach him who slumbers in his distant grave. Sad, sad indeed, the thought that he

is gone. Gone in his beauty, his manliness, his purity, and his love. Gone in the fullness of promise, in the gladness of his realized hopes. A whole-souled man is always but ill spared ; how doubly sad the loss when youth and holiness have combined to make him dear. He has gone from us who loved him, and has left in many hearts a void which cannot be filled. He was firm in his integrity, warm in his affections, white and spotless in his purity. Unwearied in industry, he was blessed with powers of intellect which enabled him to attain abundant fruits of his labors. Joyous and serene in temperament, he was fitted to experience the world's best pleasures, and was armed to contend with its sorrows. An unruffled amiability of temper was eminently characteristic of Mr. Wheeler, and did much to endear him to his many friends. No recollection of past ill-nature can arise to shade our remembrance of him, no thought of past unkindness to chill our warm love for his memory. Life wore ever to him a smiling aspect, and its highest developments and its most homely experiences were alike the sources of gratitude and love.

"Do what I will," he says in a letter, "all things *will* wear a shining and a smiling front, and so I cannot help smiles and laughter. Let me laugh then, 'for he who laughs much commits no deadly sin.'"

The letter, which next succeeded that from which we have just quoted, contained intelligence of the death of a dear and affectionate brother, and it breathed a tone of confidence and love, which comes home to the hearts of those who now mourn for him who wrote it.

"You remember that in my last letter, I said that life would wear a cheerful look to me, do what I would. I feel bound to say that my state of mind is as cheerful now as at the time of writing that letter. I am not, nor do I care to be, in so *riant* a mood as then. But I now believe as a thing of faith, what I have long held as a theory, the perfect manifestations of the Divine Love in the life of each one of us. So far as concerns the living, the saddest experiences are but the shadings in the picture which Providence is ever painting. Sorrow that those we love are taken away is not wrong ; but faith that God holds the issues of life and death in his hands, and that nothing can take place without his will, will rob that sorrow of its sting. I have been called upon to taste a new cup of sorrow, and found that the pang of separation was sharper in this case than ever be-

fore ; but found also that I had not lived two years and three quarters since Hildreth's death for nothing. That event found me a boy ; this finds me a man ; that came upon me a dreamer of theories ; this finds me a believer. That event saddened my feelings for a time ; this, as I verily believe, has deepened my whole nature for eternity. I said then I will resist evil ; now sin seems to me well nigh impossible. My views of life are as cheerful as ever ; my thoughts of death far less unpleasant."

Let us take example from him who has gone before ; in his own words we may read our consolation ; in the purity of his life we may realize how sin was to him well nigh impossible, how holiness is attainable through sorrow and bitter tears. He was lovely and beloved, for he was earnest, pure, and true. Away from his home and his kindred, he met his Father's call. Absent, but thank God, not alone, he laid him down to die, and in calmness and serenity breathed forth his latest breath. By friendly hands were his falling eyelids pressed, and a voice of his native tongue was speaking his last farewell.

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#### THE MINISTRY AT LARGE IN BOSTON.

IN the last number of the Examiner some remarks were made, in relation to the present form of the ministry at large, in Boston, which have called forth the communication which follows, and to which we very willingly give a place in our journal. The opinions we then expressed were expressed with deliberation, and with no more strength of phrase than we then thought, and now think, the case requires. If this were not a subject of great practical importance, we should not have offered our pages for the present communication to our correspondent, nor occupied them with any further words of our own. But its real importance must be our justification with our readers. Still, if more is to be said on one side and the other, we think a paper of more frequent appearance will prove a more convenient medium of communication.

We now ask the attention of our readers to the communication of "One of our Ministers at Large," and then to the observations subjoined.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER:

In the September number of the Examiner is a notice of the Eighth Report of the London Domestic Missionary Society. In this notice but little is said respecting the London Mission, while several reflections are offered respecting the Ministry at Large among ourselves. Some important and just views are presented respecting the poor, and the duty of the more prosperous classes towards them; while several statements are made upon the ministry at large, which might lead many readers to very erroneous conclusions.

In alluding to Dr. Tuckerman, the writer says, "We still think the device of Dr. Tuckerman the most perfect, and practicable as perfect, ever conceived for the moral redemption, as well as the present immediate relief of the poor in cities." The writer then goes on to say, that "the ministry at large, according to Dr. Tuckerman's idea, has declined or perished of late years. In Providence, we believe, there is a single minister. In Boston, we suppose we are correct in saying, there is now not one."

It seems to be an imperative duty that this statement should be corrected. There are individuals connected with the fraternity of churches, who are employed as ministers at large. And unless these men are false to their trust, they are what they profess to be. They visit daily among the poor; they devote time and strength to this work; they search into the waste places; they penetrate into the darkest regions of vice and poverty; they cultivate a personal acquaintance with the wretched — administer, as far as they can judiciously, to their temporal wants; but especially do they strive to reclaim them from error, and to elevate them from their degraded state.

The ministers under the direction of the fraternity of churches, are not only understood to be ministers to the poor by the fraternity, but by the community at large; and hence the poor and the vicious are constantly sent to them from various sections of the city. The same idea is prevalent among the poor, who in their hours of trial, seek the ministers for aid and counsel.

It may matter but little, perhaps, by what name these laborers are known, yet while they are universally called ministers at large, it might convey a false impression to say that there is not one at present in the labor, and that the mission itself had perished.

The Examiner speaks as if, since Dr. Tuckerman's death, the ministry in which he was engaged had taken a different turn; whereas, during Dr. Tuckerman's life, (and under his superintending care,) this ministry was carried on precisely as it is at the present day.

When Dr. Tuckerman first entered upon his labors, he probably had no very definite purpose, except to do good in the way which should seem to him best — waiting until continued labors among the poor should enable him to devise wise methods for their improvement. He very soon found it important to obtain a lecture room, where many gladly gathered around him; so fully was he satisfied of the advantage of publicly addressing those who would come to hear, that in his second report, he asks if no one is willing to build a "*Synagogue*." Not long after this, a "Free Chapel" was erected, in which for some years Dr. Tuckerman preached. As he extended his visits and labors among the poor, he became more generally known, and larger numbers flocked around him that they might listen to his counsels. If what he said was worth saying to fifty, he felt that it was worth saying to many more. The first Free Chapel accommodated about three hundred persons. It was felt by the friends of the mission that yet more good could be accomplished by a more permanent building, and one which would accommodate a somewhat larger number. The first meeting, which was called to take the subject into consideration, was held at the house of Dr. Tuckerman, he being most deeply interested in it. His views, at this time, were strictly adhered to, as they have been throughout. He looked upon the whole plan as being in harmony with his fondest desires, and as the happy result of his arduous labors. When the building was completed, he said, "My hopes are now realized; this puts the ministry at large on a permanent foundation, and is as a guarantee of its success." After this chapel was opened, Dr. Tuckerman, though in feeble health, preached in it several times, and those who heard him remember the fervor with which he looked around and expressed his gratitude to God for such a fulfilment of his prayers. He lived



several years after this, and watched the operations of the chapel, and the general labors of the ministry, with affectionate interest. Never did he express the thought, that the chapels were a departure from his idea; but, on the contrary, to the day of his death, he expressed strongly his entire sympathy, and considered them as a most important auxiliary in the great work.

The poor constantly attend these chapels. The vicious and the wretched attend them. Persons who come from "garret and cellar, and alley and lane;" and persons too, who come with bitter griefs in their hearts, and who feel the woes of a crushing poverty. It is true that some attend the chapels, who are not absolutely poor, and this is considered by many as one of their most beautiful features. They are so conducted as not to cut off the poor as a cast. Those who are not absolutely poor are willing to mingle with those who are less fortunate, and labor for their good. They are generally elevated but a little above poverty themselves, and to the very utmost of their ability these individuals contribute to the support of the chapels and the institutions of religion. To cut off such persons from attending the chapels, would be like cutting off the right hand of the ministry. These are the connecting links which run up from the lowest towards the higher. They give all they are able to give, to defray the chapel expenses; and in addition to this, they aid by their visits among the poorer, and by coöperations with the ministers at large, in their general plans. It is no departure from the Christian labor in which we are engaged, that some such worship with us. It is probably not saying too much when it is said, that never has a poor person been crowded out of these chapels since the day they were opened, while many poor persons have been led to enter them from the general appearance of comfort, and the harmony and love that reigned within.

In regard to preparation for the Sabbath labors, if a minister to the poor is to preach, he ought to prepare as faithfully to meet one hundred as five hundred. If he were to meet one hundred in a small hall, and the one hundred were edified, if the address had been in a chapel, and a larger number had heard it, probably more good here might have been accomplished. If a minister visits among the poor, and never meets them collectively — he has a congregation, but they are scattered so that he must go and say to each one, what, if they were together, might

be said to all at once. The idea of the chapel then is that the minister, in addition to his visits, may see the scattered congregation at times brought together for social worship, and where, with good air and better accommodations, they may listen to the preacher's instruction. If a small hall would be an advantage, a more commodious and better ventilated chapel would enable the preacher to accomplish yet greater good. And with this view the simple chapels, connected with this ministry, were erected. The preacher does not necessarily become a sermon writer; for he may follow the model given him by Jesus and the apostles. It was certainly not Dr. Tuckerman's idea, that a man should neglect his own mind. Careful study is for all, and particularly for one who is to advise others. But a minister may tax his powers, and gather information from books, and yet do much to aid his fellow creatures in intercourse with them at their homes. Perhaps the minister, who prepares to meet his people with a regular sermon or discourse, does no more than it would be well for him to do, even if he had no chapel. In visiting from house to house, he gains experience, which enables him to preach, and in preaching he gains a power which enables him the better to converse, and aids him greatly in his daily walks.

But whatever views may be entertained in regard to the chapels, they are certainly not a departure from Dr. Tuckerman's idea. He lived to see their success, and rejoiced in their prosperity.

It is but just to add that there are others, besides those of our denomination, who labor among the poor. "The Boston City Missionary Society" is in successful operation, and has been in existence for more than twenty years. There are Baptist and Orthodox ministers, who visit from house to house, and are indefatigable in their pursuit of vice. Such men were in the work before Dr. Tuckerman came to the city. It was not until the 5th of November, 1826, that Dr. Tuckerman commenced visiting the poor in Boston; while there were not only, long before this, Christians of other denominations laboring as visitors among the poor, but a regular society was formed among the Orthodox churches for its systematic support. The Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor, was organized by the Orthodox churches, October 9th, 1816, and incorporated in the year 1820. When Dr. Tuckerman entered this work, then, he did not originate the plan of visiting

the poor, even in the city, of his labors. But as he continued his labors, he constantly felt the need of a more permanent ministry, one improvement after another suggested itself, until he had the satisfaction of seeing his views more truly realized in the fraternity of churches and the free chapels. If Dr. Tuckerman did not originate this, he originated nothing. And those, who would strip the ministry at large of the chapels, would throw the ministry back to where it was before Dr. Tuckerman's day. They would undo what he has done, and rob this ministry of all that peculiarly marks it as connected with him.

If, therefore, it is true, as the Examiner says, that "the device of Dr. Tuckerman is the most perfect, and practicable as perfect, ever conceived for the moral redemption as well as the present immediate relief of the poor in cities," is it not well to understand what that device was; and to allow that these chapels are the most striking feature in this ministry, which can be traced to him? The visiting from house to house was practised long before, and is practised now. It was considered important and essential from the first, and it is considered important and essential still. The two now are united, and made powerfully to aid each other.

It is pleasant to feel that the ministry at large, as it is at present conducted, is in exact accordance with the idea of Dr. Tuckerman. The clergymen, connected with the labor at this time, claim to have originated nothing, and they protest against the statement of having departed from the original idea of this ministry. They deny that they have departed from the work which was given them to do. Such a statement is untrue in itself, and unjust to the individuals concerned in the labor. It is a reflection upon the churches—upon the executive committee, and upon the ministers at large themselves.

That there is yet more to be done, no one can doubt. The city is large; it has greatly increased in population, and there are a vast multitude, who should be won from vice to virtue. In addition to the ministers who are now employed, there is ample room for two or three others, whose sole duty it might be, to visit—or, if they preached, do so in the chapels already erected. The chapels might be considered as central points, from which the laborers should verge in every direction, until not one hovel should be left unvisited, and every abode of loneliness and want, throughout the circumference of the city,

should be made to feel the influence of Christian Love and Truth.

The work is not yet done — or the whole field occupied. Much has been accomplished, and we believe in the right way ; what we have now to do is to go forward and not backward. The ministers at large have felt a sacred joy in their efforts to carry out the great principles of their venerated father and friend ; and have sought, and will yet seek, with earnest labor, to do what they can, to extend and establish the religion of that blessed Saviour, who was anointed to preach the Gospel to the Poor.

#### ONE OF THE MINISTERS AT LARGE.

Boston, October, 1843.

Very much such an account is here given by our correspondent of the societies, in connexion with the Fraternity of Churches, as we should have expected. It agrees with all we have known and heard of them. It is an account of an institution with which, except for its name, we have found no fault, and have none to find, in whose prosperity we rejoice most heartily, whose decline we should deplore as a great evil, whose ministers we truly honor. Our ground of difference is not whether it is an excellent institution, and answering a purpose which no other in the city now does, but simply whether it fulfils the proper idea, and the prevailing one, of the Ministry at Large, as it was when it first went into operation, and as it is described in the writings of its founder. In our judgment it is not such an institution. It has, in the progress of years, so changed its character, that the truth only is spoken, when it is asserted that the proper Ministry at Large no longer exists in our city. "One of the Ministers," in what he has said above, has described the condition and action of what is well known in all our cities as a "free church" — a church formed out of the poorer classes — save that when the preacher is eminent all sorts of people crowd in — whose worshippers come and go as they please, sit where they please, and pay what they please, in the form either of a Sunday collection, or of an annual or monthly subscription, a part of the expense being borne perhaps by rich individuals interested in its prosperity. A minister presides over the congregation, and preaches ; visiting also, as a pastor, the families which constitute his hearers. So far as he visits more or less, it is among the poorer classes, for no

others are numbered among the permanent members of his flock. And doubtless circumstances, and his own deep interest in the duty, often carry him beyond the limits of his own society. This is, perhaps, a correct definition of what is understood by a free church, and which is to be found in all our larger towns in connexion with various denominations. It is this which our correspondent has described. But this is not what we understand by the ministry at large. It does not satisfy our conception of what Dr. Tuckerman instituted and advocated with so much power and zeal. Admitting even in the case of the Boston ministers, that visiting bears a larger proportion to their other labors than in similar churches elsewhere, still our idea of the ministry for the poor is not met.

The central idea of Dr. Tuckerman's ministry is the frequent visiting of the poor in their places of habitation, so as to form and maintain the most intimate relations of Christian friendship, — a visiting from house to house, "day by day, from morning until night," — a visiting so constant and unintermitting as, in comparison with any other duty or employment, to constitute the sole business of the minister. No one can peruse the printed reports of this eminent man, and not be struck with the very different manner in which he speaks of preaching and visiting. The last constitutes the burden of his eloquent pages, preaching, the chapel and its services, come in incidentally in a few words at the close of his reports. In the first report of the second year of his labors, in which he unfolds at length his idea of this ministry, and what it should aim to accomplish, is it, or is it not, the chapel and its audiences that occupy his thoughts, and engage his sympathies? Nothing has surprised us so much in the communication of our correspondent, as his labored argument to show that the Free Chapel constitutes the distinctive peculiarity of Dr. Tuckerman's plan for the relief of the poor of our cities. So total a misconception of that plan, as we hold it to be, on the part of one of the principal ministers, makes it no longer wonderful that the change should have taken place in the form and condition of the institution, which we have affirmed — that preaching should have come to predominate over visiting. But is this a misconception? We cannot afford time and room to argue out so plain a question. We can only refer the reader for our justification to Dr. Tuckerman's reports. If he is interested in the

subject, and has already read, and remembers those reports, there can have been but one impression made and left upon his mind. What different language Dr. Tuckerman may have used in conversation we do not know. But when engaged in establishing this ministry in New York a few years since, we well remember how subordinate a feature in its organization was a chapel. One was to be procured and opened for Sunday worship, if convenient to do so, if a good room could be obtained, if funds for its support could be collected. In regard to the visiting there were no ifs; this was the prime essential, the one thing needful.

By way of showing that visiting does not constitute the characteristic peculiarity of this ministry we are told, that the Baptists, and the Orthodox, together with certain missionaries, were engaged in visiting the poor before Dr. Tuckerman came to Boston. But surely the only question here is, in what proportion and in what manner, with what method and with what extensive views did they visit the poor. There have always been visitors of the poor in all places and times. Bishop Cheverus was a constant friend and visitor among them. But nevertheless neither he nor others, who visited in the same manner, were ministers at large in the sense of Dr. Tuckerman. It is not visiting only that defines this ministry, but the manner and degree of it. Neither is it, on the other hand, as our correspondent contends, "Free Chapels," that make its peculiarity. When and where has there ever been any form of the Christian Ministry without its chapels? Surely there was nothing *original* in the opening either of chapels, or of free chapels for Sunday preaching. This was not the peculiarity for which we hold in so much honor the memory of Tuckerman. What was original, if there was anything original and peculiar, was certainly this, the institution of a permanent order of men, well qualified for their office, supported by permanent salaries like the regular ministry, whose daily and hourly duty it should be to visit at their homes, for purposes of moral and religious influence and the relief of their temporal wants, the poor of cities. In our judgment this was, and this only was, original and peculiar. In specifying the particular offices this ministry was to perform in its intercourse with the subjects of it, it will be observed in Dr. Tuckerman's reports, that they are such as can be performed only by seeing the poor in their dwellings. It contemplates such frequency of personal intercourse, that the minister shall in truth become the familiar

friend of those he visits, intimately acquainted with their whole condition and wants, ready, and competent, through knowledge of their character and their affairs, to be their adviser and helper in all their straits, and thus to obtain over them a religious and moral influence to be obtained in no other way. Occasional and interrupted intercourse between the rich and the poor, between ministers or missionaries and the poor, has always existed; but who before Dr. Tuckerman showed the practicableness and urged the duty of forming a class of visitors, whose life-long employment, whose sole employment it should be to minister to their wants, and whose number should be such as to comprise within their several cures *all* the poor of a city, not an individual soul escaping their vigilant search, or losing the advantage of their ministrations, except through their own determination not to be found of them or helped. Whether original or not, this is the idea of Dr. Tuckerman's ministry, this is the theory of the institution he has described in his writings, which he labored to establish on a permanent foundation, and which he confidently prophesied would one day be found in every city in Christendom. If, rather than this, preaching in Free Chapels to large congregations constitutes the essential element of his plan, it is singular, at least, that he dwelt upon it so little; especially singular that his practice seemed to oppose any such construction of his purpose. He preached himself, a part of the time, but once on the Sunday. But if he had thought this the chief thing, he would have husbanded his little strength for what was to be the great effort. The last days of the week, at least, would have been given to the repose necessary to recruit him for the Sabbath. His practice was quite otherwise; he devoted himself to visiting during the week, to the various forms of practical preaching, and then with what strength was left spake to his people on Sunday, often delegating that service to others.

The question, accordingly, as to what constitutes the ministry is purely a question of proportion, of relation; it is not visiting alone, nor preaching alone, nor both together, in the way in which they are commonly united. But it is distinctly a ministry in which domiciliary visitation "from day to day, and from morning till night," shall abound in an immense proportion over all other duties and cares, there being so much preaching only on the Sunday, as the toil and labor of the week shall have left strength and time for. Visiting is the first, second, and third

thing, the beginning and the ending ; preaching, in the technical sense, wholly secondary and subordinate. This, we are confident, both from the spirit and the letter of Dr. Tuckerman's reports, was his idea of his ministry ; this, we believe, would be the idea which any unprejudiced mind would receive from reading his works. Had he lived to see the chapel in the least degree taking precedence of the daily visits, interfering with, and absorbing to itself the time that should be devoted to them, we believe he would have deplored it as an injurious deviation from his plan. It had been long known what preaching could do for the very poor ; the aim of Dr. Tuckerman was to learn, by an effectual experiment, what a thorough system of personal visitation and oversight would effect. For our own part we cannot doubt, that large chapels in connexion with this ministry are an injury, and will end in the destruction of the institution, or in other words, will deprive it of its original and proper character.

The reasoning of our correspondent is, it seems to us, hardly sound when he says, that what is good for, and may be spoken to a few, is equally good for, and may be spoken to many, to a multitude. Truths, that are good for a few, are equally good for many, and for all, doubtless ; but uttering them to a crowd, in a large building, in all the formality of a public service, is by no means the same thing with saying them to a few, in a small upper room, or in the sick chamber, or at the funeral of some poor person, in narrow and humble quarters. Is it possible, that preaching should be the same easy, familiar, unexhausting process in the one case as in the other ? We fearlessly affirm, that in any case a large chapel, for six or three hundred hearers, will occasion such an absorption of the mind of a minister in the duties and preparations of the pulpit, especially if he obtain a general popularity and draw together a promiscuous audience, as to leave him only half a minister, and half a man, for the poor at their homes. Such preaching and such visiting cannot go along together. *Ceci tuera cela.* The preaching will kill the visiting. We think this only the natural, almost necessary, consequence. And we accordingly judge the building of chapels a mistake — small hired rooms in the very quarters of the poor serving a better purpose — the building of *large chapels* a fatal mistake. In the present instance, the erection of such chapels has been attended accidentally by very important and valuable results — large, and what seem to be permanent, congregations having



been gathered — and, we repeat, we would have them maintained as they are, partly by contributions on the part of those who attend, — the farther this principle of support is carried the better, — and partly by contributions from independent sources. But that they have had the effect to cause such a deviation from the original idea of the ministry to the poor, as to constitute a new and different institution, we should think the blindest must acknowledge.

That the public think very much as we do, we hope we may infer from no defence having been set up against our remarks published two months since. The Miscellany maintains, in effect, the same ground as ourselves. It complains that our language was too strong, but admits the deviation of which we speak ; and this deviation is just the change which deprives this ministry of its peculiar character, and confounds it with other institutions similar, but not the same, and announces its virtual extinction. An admirable organization remains ; but the peculiarity that made it a ministry at large has disappeared. The executive committee of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, in language employed at the close of their last report, appear to feel that the ministry in its present form is not answering its proper ends. They say ; —

“ We have but two missionaries in this field, — we need to have three or four or five. We do not need, it is not necessary, nor would it be expedient, to have more *Chapels* ; but we do need more missionaries ; we want more ministers to aid and co-operate with those already employed, — that there may be more visiting and preaching from house to house, that they may go about continually among the poor in their dwellings, be with them daily in their temptations, search out the solitary, the out-cast, the forsaken, the degraded, and bring the power of divine and regenerating truth to bear upon their hearts and consciences, and lift them out of the abyss of sin and suffering, and place them erect upon the rock of truth, and inspire them with a living faith. Your Committee have long felt the need of this. The ministers at large themselves have felt it. The growth of our city, now numbering over thirty thousand more than when this ministry was started, and its increasing growth, show it to be reasonable.” — pp. 22, 23.

We do not doubt that, as our correspondent states, visiting the poor makes a part of his labors. But the question is, and the only question, in what proportion ? We are struck with

the few words devoted to the subject in the above communication, and with its vague statements. In the ninth Report, also, there is no particularity and specification in regard to the performance of this duty, such as we could wish to see. In the Reports of Dr. Tuckerman, he was careful to give the exact number of his visits — in so many months he had made twelve, thirteen, or nineteen hundred visits — intimating very clearly in this minute enumeration, what he conceived the chief duty of the office to be. If we are wrong in our belief that at present preaching, in this ministry, abounds over visiting, we have then committed a wrong. If it is the daily practice of the present ministers to spend the working hours of every day of the week, from morning till night, six, or eight hours, in the kind of visiting this office contemplates, then they are genuine Ministers at Large. If the work of visiting does not in this manner absolutely constitute the business of every day, and the whole day, we cannot think that the institution is carried out in the spirit of its true intent. In nothing that we have said do we imply that preaching is a *departure* from the idea of Dr. Tuckerman — but only that *too much* preaching is — that *too little* visiting is. It is all, as we have said, a question of proportion and relation. The ministry — in its peculiarity and special value — has perished, when visiting has become a secondary and subordinate office.

We cannot see why the free chapels and the ministry at large should not exist, and do their work in harmonious action. We would not say one word to touch the prosperity of these Free Churches. Let them go on prospering and multiplying to the greatest extent possible; only let them not be confounded with a Ministry at Large. Perhaps by the addition of other ministers to the present churches, whose whole duty should be visiting, all would be accomplished. We are only anxious to disabuse the public mind of an error, if it is in the habit of thinking or boasting that a ministry at large in the true sense at present exists. So far as such error prevails, it is injurious, as the city is thereby deprived of an institution that might otherwise be revived. No duty is more imperative on those who have the highest welfare of the city at heart — its wealthy citizens and its government — than the reinstitution in vigorous and healthy action, in every quarter of the town, of a proper ministry at large. Such a ministry constitutes a true Christian police, that in the process of time would take the place of every other.

Policy, Humanity, Religion, alike call for its establishment on a permanent foundation.

We observe some reiteration in what we have hastily prepared, while the last sheets of our number are passing through the press. But we are willing it should all be reiteration, if we could thereby give any additional force to the expression of our conviction, that *visiting* constitutes the Ministry at Large; and that it is impossible, as it is a thing unreasonable to require or expect, for the same persons to be preachers and pastors of large, and in great part, fixed congregations, and at the same time Ministers at Large, so bearing a double burden and performing the functions of two distinct offices. Either the present churches should take the name which alone properly describes them, and a new ministry be set on foot, or a second minister should be added, as soon as funds can be procured, to each of the existing congregations. We cannot see that any wrong is done by expressing this opinion; at least, if we err, or offend, it is not through wantonness, but through a deep interest in an important subject.

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#### NOTICES OF BOOKS.

1. *Presbytery and not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity, Proved from the Testimonies of Scripture; the Fathers; the Schoolmen; Reformers; and the English and Oriental Churches. Also, the Antiquity of Presbytery; including an Account of the Ancient Culdees, and of St. Patrick.* By THOMAS SMYTH, Author of Lectures on the Apostolical Succession, Ecclesiastical Republicanism, Ecclesiastical Catechism, etc. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1843. 8vo. pp. 568.
2. *Ecclesiastical Republicanism; or the Republicanism, Liberty, and Catholicity of Presbytery, in Contrast with Prelacy and Popery.* By THOMAS SMYTH, Author of Lectures on the Apostolical Succession, &c. &c. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1843. 12mo. pp. 323.

HERE are two more volumes by the indefatigable Author of the Lectures on the "Prelatical Doctrine of Apostolical Succession Examined," noticed in our November Number for 1841. In regard to the first,—"Presbytery and not Prelacy the Scrip-

tural and Primitive Doctrine," — the Author observes, in his Preface, —

"As to the necessity of the work, nothing need be said. This is now universally admitted. A renewed and thorough discussion of the great principles, involved in the exclusive assumptions of prelacy, is forced upon us by the open and repeated assaults made by this bold enemy, upon the rights and privileges of all other Christian denominations. The conviction is therefore general, that this controversy must become the leading topic of the age."

Again,

"The aim of this work is catholic, and not sectarian. The Author appears as the advocate, not of a party, but of all non-episcopal denominations. He includes under the term presbytery, those generic principles which are common to Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Reformed Dutch, Lutherans, Baptists, and Methodists. In some points he will be found differing from members of each of these bodies, but most generally he hopes to be found agreeing with the liberal-minded of them all."

As Congregationalists, certainly, we cannot go along with the author in all his views. Yet so far as regards his great leading principle, or position, that the only bishops recognised in Scripture, or known to Christian antiquity, are presbyter bishops, who were, in truth, parochial bishops, (we call them Congregational bishops,) we entirely agree with him. Such bishops were the only bishops known in the primitive churches, and are the only bishops, who can be properly called Apostolical. And they still exist in all our churches. Congregational ministers are bishops in the scriptural sense of the term, and according to primitive usage.

The only apostolical, or scriptural bishops, then, are presbyter bishops. This the author attempts to establish in opposition to modern and high-church episcopacy, which maintains that bishops and priests (or presbyters) constitute two distinct orders, and which asserts the "divine right" of Prelacy. To primitive episcopacy he has no objection; nor have we. We claim it for ourselves, for our congregational churches. We say that there was originally no other episcopacy than now exists in our Congregational churches, the minister being bishop, or overseer, of the flock, for that is the primitive meaning of the term.

"Apostolicity," says Mr. Smyth, "has been claimed by Presbyterians in all ages." Certainly, we repeat, our Congregational churches claim it. Every minister, having the oversight of a parish, is a bishop.

The author takes a wide range; he goes back to the ministry of the Saviour; he examines the Apostolic age, in which the

terms bishop and presbyter were used as perfectly synonymous; he shows that presbyters were originally, and are still, by right "clothed with all the powers of the ministry," ordination included. For proofs of this he appeals to the Scriptures, to the Fathers, to the Schoolmen, to Prelatists themselves, and especially to the voice of the early Anglican Church. The conclusion is, that "presbyterian ordination is more valid, certain, and regular than prelatical ordination," that this claim of prelacy, or the peculiar power and prerogatives of the bishops, of which we now hear so much, are, as they have been demonstrated to be over and over again, wholly unfounded.

These and several other topics, more or less intimately connected with the main subject, are discussed in the volume with great thoroughness. The author does not lay claim to any novelty of facts, or argument, his design being rather to rearrange old materials, and as he expresses it, to "condense the substance of innumerable treatises which have been written on the subject."

We proceed now to the second work named at the head of this notice, "Ecclesiastical Republicanism." Again, by a very liberal construction of the term Presbyterian, the author includes under it, not only Presbyterians proper, and known by name as such, but Baptists, Lutherans, the Protestant Methodist church, and "the whole body of New England Puritans, although now generally denominated Congregationalists." He denies, however, that the last named possess the "true character" of Congregationalists. "They are," he says, "essentially Presbyterian." We like, however, the old name of Congregationalists; and the Congregational polity, certainly, differs, in some particulars, which we deem important, from the Presbyterian strictly so called. Mr. Smyth speaks of Congregationalists as having "associations or consociations, which meet at regular periodical times, and exercise all the powers of our (Presbyterian) Synods." Such associations, or consociations, we say, are destructive of pure Congregationalism, and the attempt to introduce them in Massachusetts, some years ago, was sternly resisted, and defeated. But we will let this pass.

The object of the writer is to show, that the principle of Episcopacy is essentially monarchical, and that of Presbyterianism, republican. He speaks of the republicanism of the Jewish and Christian churches. "Each individual church," says Mosheim, in his Commentaries on the affairs of Christians before the time of Constantine, "assumed to itself the form and rights of a little distinct republican commonwealth; and with

regard to its internal concerns, was wholly regulated by a code of laws, that, if they did not originate with, had, at least, received the sanction of the people constituting such church."

The author enters into an analysis of the "doctrinal and ecclesiastical systems" of Presbyterianism, for the purpose of showing that they are republican throughout. He then proceeds to the historical argument. He finds the republican tendencies of Presbyterianism, and the monarchical tendencies of Episcopacy, strikingly developed in the annals of the past. He examines the history of the Waldenses, and of the Reformation. "Those states," he says, "which possessed a republican form of government, were the first to raise the standard of revolt," and he goes on to illustrate this at some length, by an appeal to historical facts. — "No small part of the enmity of many European monarchs to the Reformation originated in their fear of its republican tendencies." Again, "it cannot be doubted, that the sovereigns were made thoughtful at an early period, by the democratic tendencies of institutions, which vested the government of churches in the body of Christians."

The Scotch, Genevan, and Swiss churches, John Knox, Buchanan, and others, are made to pass in review before us. The author then turns to English history, and here his materials rapidly accumulate. Puritanism and Presbyterianism engaged in deadly conflict with Episcopacy and the throne, and overthrew them. "Protestantism," says Carlyle, "was a revolt against spiritual sovereignties, popes, and much else. Presbyterianism carried out the revolt against earthly sovereignties and despotisms."

King James says, that Presbyterianism "agrees with monarchy as well as God with the devil." Charles I. was much of the same opinion, — his maxim was, "No bishop, no king." In truth the republican tendencies of Presbyterianism were continually urged by the royalists, of which the author gives several examples. Dryden, poet laureate, sang the praises of monarchy, as Puseyite poets now sing the glories of High-churchism, and denounces the Presbyterians in good round set terms. Thus ends a passage of this sort in his *Hind and Panther*.

"So Presbytery and its pestilential zeal,  
Can flourish only in a common weal."

The author next comes to the history of the United States. He quotes M. de Tocqueville, who says, that the democratic principle came in with the original settlers, — the puritan fathers, — along "with the parish system, that fruitful germ of free institutions." Puritanism was the father of the American revolution.

Dr. Chandler, discussing the question, whether or not bishops ought to be introduced into America, says, "Episcopacy and monarchy are, in their frame and constitution, best suited to each other. Episcopacy can never thrive in a republican government, nor republican principles in an Episcopal church." . . . "He, that prefers monarchy in the State, is more likely to approve of Episcopacy in the Church, than a rigid republican," and more in the same strain. — p. 153. On this ground, among others, the introduction of Episcopacy into the colonies was opposed.

The author adds, "That Episcopalians more generally espoused the British cause, in the revolutionary struggle, than Presbyterians, is candidly admitted by bishop White, who says that of those who were thus inclined, '*a great proportion were Episcopalians.*' In New England, the Episcopal clergy were royalists almost to a man." — p. 156.

The author then proceeds to consider the character of Episcopacy as now organized among us. The "anti-republicanism of High-churchism" is the title of one of his sections. But we cannot follow him through this, and several other topics of which he treats with greater or less fulness. We have said enough to show the nature and object of the work, which is all we intended.

Whatever may be thought of some of his views, and to some of them, as before said, we cannot assent, — we are compelled to say, that all his treatises give evidence of earnestness, and great patience of research and labor; they abound in historical facts and illustrations; and so far as prelacy is concerned, prove for the thousandth time, that it has no root in Scripture, or primitive antiquity.

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*Lays of my Home, and other Poems.* By JOHN G. WHITTIER.  
Boston: William D. Ticknor, 1843. 16mo. pp. 122.

WE had designed and hoped to have given this little volume a more extended and elaborate notice than our space and leisure now permit. Yet our narrow limits are to be the less regretted, as the vocabulary of praise is less ample than that of censure, and our object is, not to find fault, but to urge those, who know Mr. Whittier only by name, to cultivate his more intimate acquaintance. Jericho seemed impregnable to Joshua and his men of valor; but its walls fell at the sound of the trumpet. The host of Midian in the days of Gideon were as the stars, or the sand for multitude; but the trumpet and the torch were the

only weapons of their overthrow and utter ruin. We have not got far enough in the Arcana Celestia to know the spiritual meaning, which these events signify to our brethren of the new Jerusalem Church; but to us they typify the bloodless victories, which philanthropy in these latter days is to win over every ancient form of oppression and wrong, with no weapons but the torch and trumpet of Christian truth and principle. Put the trumpet at the poet's lips? Yes; why not? If, when he sings of love, and writes sonnets to the moon, the lute and lyre be his fit insignia, why is not, by parity of reason, the stirring trumpet his, with its all-awakening blast, when he asserts the rights of the down-trodden, pleads for bleeding, wounded humanity, and rebukes the wrong-doer, the tyrant monarch or the tyrant mob? Such is Whittier's mission. Not that his volume is consecrated solely to themes of this class; for there are several exquisite little paragraphs and ballads, in which there breathes indeed a spirit both kindly and devout, but which are in no sense *preaching poems*. But most of these poems have reference to the great reforms of the day, or are tributes to the memory of true-hearted reformers.

Whittier's rhythm is generally smooth and pure, yet not faultless; his diction chaste, nervous, elevated; his style not highly imaginative, but sufficiently removed from the pedestrian march of the rhymed prose that so often calls itself poetry. But we delight in his poetry, chiefly because it is genuine, transparent, because it reveals the author, and brings you into conscious and intimate converse with him, because not one line of it seems written for the sake of writing or merely to be read, but all is the spontaneous outflow of rich thought and fervent feeling. Mr. Whittier is evidently well versed in the history, and the traditional and legendary lore of his native State, and has used it with admirable effect in the "Lays of my Home." One of these, "The Ballad of Cassandra Southwick," is founded on the persecution of the Quakers by the Puritans, and seems to us equally true in its delineation of the parties and the times, and full of those elements of pathetic interest, which appeal to the universal heart.

Among the most striking pieces in the volume is one suggested by a portrait of Raphael. We would also name, as of surpassing beauty, a poem inscribed to "Follen, on reading his Essay on the Future State." But, after all, we are the most pleased with those pieces, in which the author expresses his full-souled sympathy with the genius of Christian reform. There is one inscribed "Democracy," but not the rampant democracy of the caucus and the mass-meeting; for the *golden rule* is its



text. Then there are several, referring more or less directly to the rights and the wrongs of the slave. With an extract from one of these we close our notice, hoping that we may have been the means of introducing our readers to a collection, which we have read with unmingled sympathy and pleasure. The piece, from which we quote is "Massachusetts to Virginia," a lyric of twenty-four stanzas, occasioned by the demand made by the authorities of Virginia, for the surrender of George Latimer. The following are the concluding stanzas.

"The voice of Massachusetts! Of her free sons and daughters —  
Deep calling unto deep aloud — the sound of many waters!  
Against the burden of that voice what tyrant power shall stand?  
*No fetters in the Bay State! No slave upon her land!*

Look to it well, Virginians! In calmness we have borne,  
In answer to our faith and trust, your insult and your scorn;  
You've spurned our kindest counsels — you've hunted for our lives —  
And shaken round our hearths and homes your manacles and gyves!

We wage no war — we lift no arm — we fling no torch within  
The fire-damps of the quaking mine beneath your soil of sin;  
We leave you with your bondmen — to wrestle while ye can,  
With the strong upward tendencies and God-like soul of man!

But for us and for our children, the vow, which we have given  
For Freedom and Humanity, is registered in Heaven:  
*No slave-hunt in our borders — no pirate on our strand!*  
*No fetters in the Bay State — no slave upon our land!"*

*Anti-Slavery Melodies; for the friends of freedom.* Prepared  
for the Hingham Anti-Slavery Society, by JAIROS LINCOLN.  
Hingham: Published by Elijah B. Gill. 12mo. pp. 96.

FOR all those who love to sing their emotions or their principles on the subject of Slavery, here is an agreeable and useful manual. Several collections have preceded this; that a new one is demanded shows that the cause of Anti-Slavery, as well as a thousand others, is deriving strength from what at first would seem to be but a feeble ally. All history, however, and all great movements bear testimony to the power of music to rouse men's sluggish or coward spirits to action. War owes half its glory and its strength to music, and the other half, if it be not profane to say it, to its banners and tinsel trappings. It were a pity if the spirit of humanity, if Christian zeal for universal liberty, forgot to resort to an influence known to have been in all time past, and still to be, so potent an auxiliary in the armies, and on the side of the wicked. The friends

of Temperance have been wise in their generations, in making poetry and music play a conspicuous part in all their celebrations. They might do much more for their great reform by a more liberal employment of our best bands of instrumental music on their public occasions, in addition to the singing of songs and hymns. If the spirit of war can go to the expense, for its entertainment and greater efficiency, of indulgence in so true a luxury, the spirit of peace, the peaceful spirit of temperance, ought to be willing to do as much for the advancement of its higher aims. Every attraction the most tasteful, even the most costly, should be drawn around it.

The Anti-Slavery leaders are following at a quick pace the example thus set, and in the present volume are to be found fifty-seven hymns and songs, — part of both the music and the poetry being original and now first published, — consecrated to the Christian theme of Emancipation. The well known talent of the author and compiler of the volume, as a composer and performer of music, is a better recommendation of this collection than anything we could say, even though we had honestly sung it through, which we have not; and his equally well known devotion to the cause of freedom will be a sufficient warrant to its advocates far and near, that in these pages there lurk no heresies or short comings in doctrine, such as should render the work unworthy of their patronage.

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*Classical Studies: Essays on Ancient Literature and Art. With the biography and correspondence of eminent philologists.* By BARNARD SEARS, President of Newton Theological Institution; B. B. EDWARDS, Professor of Andover Theological Seminary; and C. C. FELTON, Professor in Harvard University. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1843. 12mo. pp. 413.

A SENSIBLE and modest, as well as enthusiastic defence of the Classics. Not the dried pedant's petulant, intolerant, and feeble assertion of the dignity of himself and his particular hobby; but a book, which has no little life in it, which recognises the earnest demands, and ever novel phases of life; which understands by "classical studies" the study of facts, of man, and not mere words; and celebrates them, not with a smack of idle dilettantism, as sweet, refining pastimes, but with a deep sense of their worth, as wells of wisdom, and discipline for life. In such a busy day of the world, a word from those who know the worth of this thing cannot be superfluous. It is earnest enough to have a hearing.

The method of the book is well suited to its purpose. In the preface is discussed the importance of classical studies, by one of the editors. The contents of the book itself are of two kinds. *First*, some promiscuous essays, inaugural addresses, &c., translated from the writings of several distinguished German scholars and professors, which express their feeling of the moral and æsthetic dignity of the classical literature and art. Some of them, however, discuss points of interest to the scholar, as the use of the Greek dialects, the history of the Latin language, &c. And *secondly*, biographical notices and correspondence of these same German scholars, introducing us into the peculiar element which they breathe, exhibiting the rise, progress, and natural relations of those great constellations of learning, and showing the influence of such classic culture and devotion upon the lives of the men. Thus we have brought before us, both what these men have said, and what in their own persons, in their daily spirit and conversation, unconsciously they show, in behalf of this kind of learning. We have the argument of their words, and of their life. Certainly no one can read these biographies with indifference, or without being agreeably disappointed, if he expected to find nothing but the dry, monotonous, characterless plodding, which he may have associated with the very thought of a philologist. He could hardly be introduced into a more attractive and ideal society; a high and devoted brotherhood, well worthy to be styled a "republic of letters." They carry that religious earnestness, deep, still-working, into their pursuit, which makes the thought of them beautiful, as that of the poet and the artist. What a manly, generous tone pervades these letters; full of true self-respect and honor for one another — nay, noblest brotherly love! In the emulation of these scholars there is nothing mean; in their never ceasing, patient industry, nothing narrowing, or fatal to the free, full life of mind and heart. For, though they spend their lives apparently in making dictionaries, in settling the text and publishing correct editions of other men's writings, who wrote ages ago, yet all this is but subsidiary to a nobler end; it proves their thoroughness, their valiant strength, which can afford to regard these small details without evasion or contempt, while really they are studying a remarkable era of life in these writings, and filling themselves with the best spirit of a culture, which they deem in many respects superior to any the world has ever seen. Their respect for the Past is a respect for those manifestations of eternal wisdom and beauty which it contains. They feel themselves made new, while penetrating with a scholar's love, through all the

formidable apparatus of criticism and dry bones of words and forms in a dead language, into the very spirit and characteristic of the life which left these records of itself. They are not verbal critics only, but philosophers. No man is so universal that he does not contemplate the great ideas and principles, which are the object of mind, more through some special manifestations, to which his genius or his education turns him, than through all others. It is the same truth, which is revealed now in the landscape, now in art, now in music, now in poetry, now in philosophy, and now in the life of some person. And all our intercourse with truth and beauty is through manifestations. Now if outward nature can occupy the poet, his own consciousness the philosopher, and the realm of tones the musician, are not Homer, Æschylus, and Plato, too, a phenomenon, a wonderful manifestation of Truth and Beauty, which may well occupy the best powers of him, who is drawn to them, to appreciate and understand?

No small argument for classical studies may be drawn from the very fact, that these men did devote themselves so intensely to them. Read of the incredible perseverance and endurance of the young Heyne through all manner of obstacles, counting poverty and cold and hunger, a pleasant and a glorious road, if they but led him to some learned professor's lecture, or to some worn copy of a Greek Classic; consider the heroic patience and fertility of invention, by which Hemsterhuis and Wyttenbach, and Wolf and Ruhnken won their way to the proud citadel of their hopes; and does it not seem that there was life and reality at work in an impulse so strong and persevering unto victory? Does it not seem that the same Providence, which raised up the Greeks first, also had need of this school of interpreters of the Greeks now?

Of the essays above mentioned we cannot speak learnedly. Besides those already alluded to, there is one on the "Study of Greek Literature;" one on the "Study of Classical Antiquity;" and two by the venerable scholar, Frederic Jacobs, on "the wealth of the Greeks in works of Plastic Art," and one on the "Education of the Moral Sentiment among the Ancient Greeks." This last is perhaps the most important paper in the selection. It defends the moral influence of the Grecian culture, literature, and art, without any qualification; and is written with all the glowing enthusiasm of one who has become himself a Greek, by love and study of their institutions through the idealizing vista of antiquity. This over-fondness is to be pardoned, and ever respected. The translator has warned the reader in his note, what statements may be made upon the other side, and let

the German speak for himself. It certainly is the best way to get at the truth. It stands confirmed by all experience, that only love can appreciate the real worth of anything. It may be blind to all but its one peculiar theme; but it represents it, from its own proper point of view, identifies itself with it, and speaks from the inside of the fact, instead of seeing it only from without, as others must. Let every State have its own representative in a Congress which would do it justice. In this, the plan of this book is excellent. What the genuine classic scholar says, though tinged with enthusiasm, must always be the most valuable testimony on the question of classical studies. In him, and him alone, you see just what these studies are. All others misrepresent, whether they undertake to advocate or condemn. If it is the question, whether we shall teach our children music, do not go for arguments to those ignorant utilitarians, who talk about its little incidental effects upon the habits of the scholar, or the order of a school; but go to the fountain-heads of musical life and genius; go to the works of the great composers, to the men who feel and know the best, who know and show in their whole life what music is. Take their word, and take the word of others, also, who have equal right to advocate something else, about which they may chance to be enthusiastic. Always it is positive, and not negative representations, which help us to the truth.

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1. *A Discourse preached before the Second Church in Boston, in commemoration of the life and character of their former pastor, Rev. Henry Ware Jr., D. D.; on Sunday, Oct. 1, 1843.* By their Minister, CHANDLER ROBBINS. With an Appendix. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1843. 8vo. pp. 71.
  2. *A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Rev. Henry Ware Jr., D. D.; preached in Bulfinch Street Church, Oct. 1, 1843.* By FREDERICK T. GRAY, Minister of that Church. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1843. 8vo. pp. 16.
  3. *Communion with the unseen. A Discourse delivered in the First Congregational Unitarian Church, Oct. 1, 1843.* By WILLIAM H. FURNESS, Pastor. Printed by request. Philadelphia: J. Crissy. 1843. 8vo. pp. 16.

OF the two first of these discourses we can hardly do more than record the titles; and this is of the less consequence as they

are well known and widely circulated in the neighborhood. The discourse of Mr. Robbins, from Rev. xiv. 13, contains a very full account of all the principal incidents in the life of Mr. Ware, together with a sketch of his character, all true and glowing with the warmth of personal attachment and a deep interest in the subject. A large appendix preserves the papers that passed between Mr. Ware and the Committee of the Second Church at the period of the dissolution of his connexion with it, an account of his last sickness, a list of his writings, &c.

Mr. Gray's Sermon, founded on the words, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his," commemorates the character and services of the deceased in a style of seriousness and attractive simplicity.

From the discourse of Mr. Furness, (Heb. xii. 1, 2,) known to but few in this part of the country, strongly marked by the best peculiarities of the author, we take a few of the closing paragraphs.

"We have need, my friends, as a religious denomination, as a certain portion of the household of faith, to cherish this mode of thinking [viz. considering the dead as 'present witnesses,' though unseen]. Many of our brightest lights have just gone out, and our most eloquent voices have been hushed. It is a year, to-day, since the saintly Channing ceased from among us. While living, his bodily frame was so delicate and frail, it seemed so for years to be hovering upon the borders of the grave, that his voice sounded, even then, like a voice from another world. And it was a voice from the other world, even then. For every one, who knew him, felt deeply that he dwelt in constant communion with the invisible, in intimate fellowship with eternal principles, and that he lived chiefly to make the invisible felt, to bring the great truths of Christian Right and Christian Love, down into the actual world, into the hearts, and homes, and business of men. This was the object to which his life was sacred. He spoke out of a high spiritual state, and sought with that rare eloquence of his, to win men to the high principles which alone made life dear to him. If his influence ceased with his mortal breath, our loss was indeed very great. But no, though he departed in the full maturity of his powers, though these showed no symptom of infirmity, though his voice was growing more and more earnest as he pleaded with man for man, yet we may not call his death a loss. He has vanished from our sight, but a double sanctity invests his memory. The venerated idea of him is rendered thrice venerable. He has joined the great cloud of witnesses, and as we remember him with love and reverence, it is as if he were looking down, cheering us onward, and bidding us run the race that is set before us, with new animation.

"And now after a brief interval, Channing has been followed by Greenwood and Henry Ware. Separated as we are by our position from the great body of those with whom we most nearly sympathize in our religious views, you probably have little idea, my brethren, of

the estimation in which these two men were held in our churches, of the deep and devoted affection which they inspired. How well do I remember how Mr. Greenwood was wont to fascinate and chain his hearers by the simplicity of his manner, by the tone of his voice, so musical, so deep, and so touching, and the graces of a spirit of rare beauty and refinement. In all the relations of life, in public and in private there was an habitual artlessness in him that won respect and love. He was for some time before his death confined to his room, and there, in serenity and cheerfulness, he awaited the approach of the great change. In this season of weakness, in the spirit of Him who, at the approach of death, was found comforting his followers, he prepared for the press, and published a valuable volume of Sermons of Consolation, and used such little strength as he had, in carving out crucifixes from various rare kinds of wood, and these memorials of Jesus he gave to his friends as humble mementos also of himself.

"It is but a few days since that the grave closed over the mortal remains of Henry Ware. There are some among us who knew him well, and dearly loved him. He was the beloved of a thousand hearts. As a preacher he was to a rare degree impressive and engaging. As the lover of truth and virtue, his activity was untiring. He was ready for every good word and work, and was continually devising new ways of doing good. It is wonderful how much he accomplished, and this too under a weight of bodily infirmities which would have prostrated most other men on their beds. I cannot trust myself to speak of him as I would, for those, who knew him not, could hardly understand me but as using the empty language of eulogy; and yet there is hardly anything I could say in his praise, which the hearts of those who knew him would not justify. They will tell you what a joy and delight it was to be in his presence, how the grasp of his hand, the sound of his voice, which always rung from his heart, was a privilege never to be forgotten! When the ear heard him, then it blessed him, and when the eye saw him, it gave witness to him! But the ear shall hear him, and the eye behold him no more. It is among my cherished remembrances, that at my ordination as the pastor of this church, nearly nineteen years ago, Henry Ware delivered the sermon, and I remember, as though it were yesterday, the eloquent fervor of his tone, when warning us all against uncharitableness he turned suddenly to me, and cried 'My brother, watch against it, preach against it, pray against it!'

"He too has gone to join the great cloud of witnesses. And although we look in vain for those who shall fill the places thus made vacant by death, we trust in God, that the hallowed memories of the departed will long continue to exert a sanctifying power upon us, who survive them, and that in spirit they will encompass us about, and in death as in life, still speak. From the unseen world comes our best strength; and that world is brought nigh to us with new power, when the venerated and beloved have gone to share in the ministration of its influences." — pp. 12 – 15.

*A Sermon occasioned by the death of Washington Allston, delivered in the Church of the Shepard Society, Cambridge, July 16, 1843.* By JOHN A. ALBRO, Pastor of the Church. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1843.

EVERY word that shall be written, relating to the character or the works of Allston, will possess a deep interest. The country has produced very few who in either the walks of professional or private life, in the quiet pursuits of letters or of science, have laid so many claims upon the admiration and respect of the times in which they have lived. As an artist he is known universally, abroad as well as at home; and we suppose the best judgment to be that, in some of the highest departments of his art, particularly in the mysterious power of color and expression, he has had no superior since the great era of the 16th century. Throughout our own country, if not abroad, his name has long been cherished also, as one among our most imaginative poets, and as a writer of prose remarkable for its purity and exquisite finish. It has been less generally known perhaps, — for his life was one almost of entire seclusion, — how truly the perfection which he reached in painting, and in the use of language, was by him sought even more earnestly, and reached in an equal or greater degree, in the best virtues of the man and the sweetest graces of the Christian. He was a devoted lover of his chosen profession, and his days were given with a miserly exclusiveness to its labors. He rarely allowed himself the recreation of even a few hours to visit his friends. But he did not think it necessary, like so many of his great predecessors, because he was thus the servant, almost the slave of art in his deep passion for it, to withhold either the outward conformity of his life, the homage of his strong mind, or the affections of his heart, from the claims of religion. He has not more commended art to the love of his countrymen by the charms he threw around it, than he has religion by the simple piety of his life. We cannot be sufficiently grateful that the influences, that shall flow from so great a name, will be distinctly religious influences, — that the head of art in our country, to whom so many of its younger votaries, in our day and hereafter, will look for the deepest principles of their practice, can never be dissociated in their minds, as they study him, from the image of an exalted Christian faith and virtue, nor from the idea, moreover, of one who found in religion, in the thoughts it creates and the prospects it unfolds, the truest sources of his inspiration.

But we have here no room for remarks of this nature. The Sermon of Mr. Albro is from the words in Revelation, — “I



heard a voice from Heaven, saying unto me, write, blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labors." The discourse is an eloquent one; but it is more than that, and better, — it is serious, and earnest, deeply religious in its spirit, and in its train of thought perfectly adapted to the occasion. We can neither present such an analysis of the discourse as we should be glad to do, had we more space at our command, nor make those extracts we had noted conveying in impressive language the best instructions of religion. We can do no more than present to the reader the concluding paragraphs containing the notice of Mr. Allston, — regretting that he who writes so well, should not have written more.

"I am not about to discuss the life, character and works of Washington Allston. I leave that high task to those, who, together with a just appreciation of the highest mental and moral excellence, possess the ability to speak in fitting terms of the great master, whose pen and pencil were instruments of magic power, by which he realized the lofty conceptions of a soul filled with the spirit of truth and beauty.

"But while I pass by those beautiful and sublime works of his, which follow him, and render his name great among men, I may, and must be permitted to speak, in few words, of the glorious work which God wrought in him; and to describe the impression which his religious character, — a subject of far higher importance than his merits as a poet or an artist, — produced upon all who were so happy as to enjoy personal intercourse with him.

"That he was a Christian in the gospel sense of that word, — a true believer in the doctrines of the cross, and a subject of renewing grace, was evident to every one who listened to his conversation, in those moments when he spoke freely of the ground of his hope, or witnessed the symmetry, the transparency, the purity, and the beauty of his daily life.

"I am aware that he was not known to many as an active Christian. His, in more than one respect, was a hidden life. His health, his temperament, and his studies, confined him much at home, and separated him in a great measure from the community. Beyond a devout, and habitual attendance upon the public ordinances of the gospel, of which this congregation, with whom he was so long associated as a member, are witnesses, he did not mingle much with the Christian world; and many, perhaps, thought of him only as an artist, whose whole life was devoted to works which could have, at best, only a temporary value, and whose religion was merely that of the imagination. But this was not true. In the highest, and best sense, he was an active Christian. He had an active faith, deep religious feelings, and a hope full of immortality. His piety was incorporated with his daily toil. He thought, and worked for the glory of God. His studio was a temple, filled not only with the beauty of his own works of art, but made sacred by pious and exhausting efforts to fulfil his high vocation as a Christian. His religion took deep root downwards in meditation and communion with

God, and manifested itself in the shining graces of the Christian life, — in abundant labors, in fervent charity, in pure friendship, and in a faithful testimony for Christ and his cross. It was like the tree described by the apostle, which grew by the river of life, bearing twelve manner of fruit, and yielding its fruit every month.

"His faith was characterized by great simplicity. It rested, not upon the wisdom of man, but upon the Word of God. Although abundantly able to speculate with the wisest and profoundest philosophies, he never speculated upon the great truths of the gospel. He received the kingdom of heaven as a little child, and made the written Word, in its plain and obvious sense, the man of his counsel, and his guide to heaven.

"He was not ashamed of the cross. Christ crucified was to him the wisdom, and the power of God, and the doctrine of atonement, by his sufferings and death, was the foundation of all his hope and peace. Never shall I forget the manner in which he sometimes spoke of the effect which the first revelation of this fundamental doctrine produced upon his soul.

"With his lofty aspirations after the highest excellence in his profession, and with his deep views of the world, and its philosophy, there was united a singular humility and lowliness of spirit. Though he had a profound judgment, a brilliant intellect, and a reputation as wide as the civilized world, yet, to use the words of Jeremy Taylor, 'as if he knew nothing of it, he had a low opinion of himself; and like a fair taper, when he shined to all the room, yet round about his own station he had cast a shadow and a cloud, and he shined to everybody but himself.'

"Towards the close of his life, there was a very visible and rapid development and growth of his religious character. He spoke more freely, and more frequently of his hopes as a Christian. He was more communicative of his feelings. He felt more deeply the value of those great doctrines, which were to him the ground of all true religion, and eternal life. And sometimes in these moments of deep communion with kindred spirits, he seemed rather like a seer than a mere speaker.

"During that memorable evening in which he was — shall I say translated? — he was more than ever earnest in the expression of his own feelings, and anxious that those around him should devote themselves to God, and make perfection in the divine life the great end of their efforts. He was evidently trimming his lamp as if dimly conscious that his Lord was near; and when the summons came, though it came suddenly and unexpectedly, he was, I doubt not, prepared to depart, and to enter upon the work of praise in the temple not made with hands.

"So passed away from among us a mind, beautiful by nature, and adorned by all that learning, wisdom, and taste could confer, but rendered still more beautiful and exalted by the indwelling of the spirit of Christ, and the manifestation of that faith which worketh by love, and purifieth the heart, and overcometh the world."

THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

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PUSEYISM,  
OR  
ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY *versus* PROTESTANTISM.

“THE Liberty, wherewith Christ hath made us free,” is Liberty in all that concerns the soul, in its Relation to and in its Intercourse with its Maker ; it is spiritual Liberty in Faith and Worship. The Christian Religion has removed all obstructions between man’s soul and God, all ceremonies and mediations, all sacrifices and oblations, all priests and propitiations. Jesus Christ is the only Mediator between God and man ; his Gospel, received into the heart and interpreted by the reason, is the medium of Christian Salvation. Thus we receive his Gospel as committed to the everlasting records of the New Testament. We acknowledge no other authority ; we ask for no one on earth to mediate for us ; so long as we have the Bible, we allow the Divine right of no institution or office, as essential to our knowledge of the terms of Christian salvation, or to our application of them. We take the Bible and say, this is our priest, our charter, our covenant, our creed ; it needs no supplement of man’s contrivance ; we are responsible to God alone for its use.

Yet in saying all this so distinctly and positively, we directly oppose the professed convictions of many disciples of Jesus Christ, who maintain and insist as positively upon the necessity of an authority, external to and coexistent with the

authority of Scripture. Priests and Sacrifices, they tell us, are not done away ; Scripture requires a *supplement* in Tradition, to explain it, to be a commentary upon it ; an institution called the Church is the earthly fold, with its enclosures and its shepherds, through which alone the sheep of the covenant can be introduced into the heavenly fold.

The Bible, or the Church, — this is the great issue for the higher departments of controversy in our day. The question is not a new one, but it takes new forms and aspects. It is to be agitated in our day with a power and an interest, of which as yet the community has but a faint conception.

This question has long been before the world under different shapes and names ; it now presents itself under the name of "Puseyism." The use of that word is to be regretted, for it is indecorous and unjust. Custom and necessity may to a degree be an apology for it, for the word now expresses a system, and is the title of a controversy in which all professed Christians have an interest and a share. To those who ask what non-Episcopalians, and Unitarians especially, have to do with this controversy, we answer, with great brevity, we have an interest in deciding the essentials of Christian Faith, in opposing superstition, bigotry, and priestcraft.

The controversy embraces this issue, whether the Scriptures alone, or the Scriptures and Church Authority taken together, decide the obligations of Christians, and the conditions of Salvation. The length and breadth of the issue suspended is simply this, shall every doctrine of faith, every ceremonial of worship, every institution of religion, expose itself to the free scrutiny of all professing Christians, so that they may ask the reason for it, may claim to understand and approve it ? Or shall there be an authority external to Scripture, that of the Church, which shall challenge the reverence and obedience of Christians, which shall decide, or rather, prevent all controversies, which shall enjoy prerogatives and enrobe itself in the solemn folds of mystery and sanctity ? This is the question, which is now expressed by the word *Puseyism*. It is a great question ; we wish clearly to apprehend the issue, to know whither it looks, whereto these things will grow. It is not for the sake of controversy, that we institute the inquiries and utter and vindicate the views, which, under a sense of responsibility, we now present. We do not wish to glory in the confusion, which now distracts those who,

agreeing in the necessity of Church Authority, are divided only as to the how much or how little of it they must allow. We are looking for a better lesson. We wish to have calm and clear apprehensions of important truth; and standing as we do, at the extremest possible distance from the principle of Church Authority, we wish to define our position.

The first point, which we would aim to make as clear as language will express it, is to present the essential issue of the question before us. It is to decide, not what form of Church Discipline is most expedient, effective, or dignified, most ancient or prevalent, but whether any external or supplementary authority, or government of any kind, is to be linked with the reception and study of the Bible. Let it be distinctly understood, that here is a question with two sides, and that the intelligent Christian must rank himself upon the one or the other side, knowing the conditions of his choice and meeting all that it involves. There is the true Protestant principle, that if a man has the Bible in his hands, and never sees a church, a priest, or a sacrament, never hears of a creed or a council, he still has all that is necessary to his knowledge and improvement of the terms of salvation. This is one side of the question now in agitation. We adopt this side with our eyes and ears open. We know all that it involves of sectarianism, fanaticism, rationalism, and infidelity. Yet we choose it, we prefer it, we identify ourselves with it, we glory in it, we would die for it with joy, if it needs more confessors. The other side of the question is that, which includes more or less of Church Authority, supplementary help with the Bible, whether it be the writings of two Fathers or of twenty, the traditions of one century or of six, one creed or three creeds, five points of doctrine, or thirty-nine articles of faith, one saving ordinance, or two saving sacraments, one order of priests, or three orders of clergy, a Pope, or a council, or a presbytery. There are very many sects who take this side in common, and embrace the sentiment which maintains the necessity of Church Authority. All individuals and all communions are on this side, who impose a creed, if it be but one single line. The parties upon this side are in continual contention as to how much of this extra-Scriptural Authority they are to adopt. Thus far we are at issue with all of them. We take the other side, and keeping the liberty of choosing all forms, rites, discipline, and institu-

tions, first in accordance with the spirit of our religion, and then with reference to our edification, our conscientious preferences, and our taste, and then with reference to the fitness of place and time, we are ready with all charity and humility to say, that we are on the better side, and to invite at least all that hesitate to come to us.

Let the distinction between these two sides be clearly understood ; let not the line which divides them ever be blurred ; let all the conditions and consequences of committal to either of them be known ; let there be no subterfuges ; no reserve ; no sweetening of bitter pills for the sake of disguising them ; let theories be consistently followed out ; let us choose the good, even if evil result from it, rather than the evil with the hope, that it will issue in good. Choose intelligently, and then be consistent.

Now let us put in a plea of Justification ; some but not all will think it necessary. Why, it may be asked, why not be satisfied with taking your own side and keeping aloof from the other side ? We answer, because we are crowded and shall soon be trampled upon. And we give a more solemn and significant answer even than this. We say, that the great and holy truth, which in spite of our differences is common to both divided parties, is hazarded and jeopardized by unconsecrated weapons, and by a departure from the rules of Gospel warfare. Church Authority has ever concerned itself more with consciences than with sins. We cannot maintain our ground without defending it. The liberty, which was obtained by protest, must be secured by argument and good use.

It is hard to dispute, it is disagreeable to bring into contempt anything which mingles itself with the religious sentiments of a professed Christian. In opposing the pretensions of Ecclesiastical Authority we must offend those who approve it. But why ? Why need we offend them ? They will tell us that we deny what they approve, we condemn what they revere. Be it so. But before yielding to the pain which we inflict, and murmuring at it, would it not be wise to ask yourselves why you hold doctrines which may be thus attacked and condemned, why do you maintain a point involving the eternal interests of others as wise, as pure, as sinful, or as sincere as yourselves, and a point which seems to them altogether absurd and not to be allowed ? Look then first to the doctrine which we attack, and reconsider it, spend your first

excited feeling and interest there, be sure you are right in it, and then hear what we say, we, who have all the means of learning the truth, and all the desire to learn it that you have. Be careful how you hold doctrines which those, over whom you have no advantage, are induced by every Christian feeling and hope, which they cherish, to impugn. We do not deny your Christian character, your spiritual attainments, your religious liberty, or the acceptableness of your mode of worship to the Father who is a Spirit. We will honor you for every grace and virtue which you exhibit ; we will worship with you, if we cannot enjoy the mode which we prefer ; we will exchange with you all sympathies and charities, we will call you worthy disciples of Jesus Christ, and pray to be admitted with you into his kingdom. Neither will we question your liberty to connect with your Christian professions a belief in any documents or terms which you may please, nor will we deny your right to institute those modes of governing your churches, disposing your services, ordaining your clergy, and administering the sacraments, that may recommend themselves to you. On all these points, however, you are as much open to our scrutiny and criticism, as we are to yours. But what we do and will do, in spite of the bugbear charge of attacking the Church which is preferred against us, is to impugn some conditions, which you make essential on our part to the reception and enjoyment and rewards of the Christian faith. We charge you with adding to the terms of Christian salvation, of confounding some of the most trivial and some of the most unwarrantable and some of the most pernicious conditions with the Gospel of the grace of God. We differ with you as to what is essential, and what is not essential, to the prevalence and security of Christian truth and principle on this earth. We read history, we observe the experience and ask the opinions of our fellow men, and from all these sources we learn that everything that makes the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or religion in general, oppressive, repulsive, uninviting, or questionable, has no part in it, tends to nourish infidelity and to cause confusion of the truth with falsehood, and is therefore to be put away. Men justly dread every doctrine which has once written itself in their blood, and wrung their nerves, and riven their sinews, and poured boiling lead into their throats, and burned them at the stake. The doctrines which do this we call doctrines additional, supple-

mentary to the Scripture, we trace them in channels of their own, channels not yet obliterated, to the principle of Church Authority, and we renounce the principle in its mustard-seed germ, for against the full-grown trunk, if God has not so effectually blasted it that it may not grow again, we could do nothing.

We believe that many persons are induced to give their apparent countenance and support to the sects which are based upon this principle of Church Authority, and especially to the Episcopal sect, without a full apprehension of what the principle involves. In conventions, in ecclesiastical proceedings, in statistical reports, their names and numbers are used as conscientious adherents to a system, of whose issues they are utterly ignorant, of whose pretensions they have no just idea, whose supposed proof they have never examined. Will such persons allow us to say, that the more solemn a doctrine, the more momentous its consequences, the more it affects the eternal interests of their brethren, just in that proportion should they be solicitous to examine its proof, or at least to understand what they seem to affirm? If an individual knowingly chooses to give his apparent favor and real support to any doctrine, in utter indifference as to what it involves, let him or his children take the consequences, when ecclesiastical despotism shall grow again to what it once was. It is not at all unusual to hear some, who are ranked among the most stringent advocates of Church Authority, accuse those who deny it of ignorance. This is a cool and comfortable way of regarding an opponent, namely, to look at him through the eyes of their own ignorance, the effect being to effuse the hue, as is seen in looking through smoked glass. There are other advocates of the principle of Church Authority, who wonder that a person can acquaint himself with what they call "the beautiful order of the Church," and not seek its pleasant shade. Such persons may never have heard of travellers, who after exploring other countries prefer to come back to their own. They may as well adopt the test of the Swedenborgians, that no one is in a fit state to examine their system, unless he is ready and disposed to receive it. Roman Catholic writers will often boast of the majority of Christian believers. But how many of their majority are *believers*, how many of them have ever dreamed of what their Church alleges for itself, to say nothing about reviewing its



proof? An Episcopal minister has lately asserted in print, that nine tenths of professed Christians believe one of the doctrines of Church Authority. He would have been nearer the truth had he said, that nine tenths of professed Christians do not believe anything. *Believe!* How much does that word mean? It has conditions, it has consequences; there are conditions and consequences to each tenet which *belief* covers. When it may be said of a man, that he *believes* anything as a part of religious truth, it may be said of him, that he has thought more than most persons have thought. We do not say, that a Christian ought to understand all that is involved in Ecclesiastical pretensions. But we do say, that whoever professes to believe, that the eternal interests of any human being depend on them, ought to understand them himself. How solemnly important is it to know what is involved in a doctrine, which affects the welfare of human beings for eternity — especially when the doctrine does not concern the conduct, but merely the belief of men! Assertions, as to the dependence of men's salvation upon the helping power of the Church, are made in the "Oxford Tracts," which are absolutely astounding, and which we read with amazement as coming from men, who must know from their own experience, that the infirmities of the heart and flesh (of which they say nothing of practical value) are far more hazardous than the aberrations of the intellect.

These conditions and consequences — far reaching as are the latter — may justify our examination of professed doctrines. And let us add, if it be necessary, that the *Church* offers to receive all, and to ordain all ministers who are fit for their own communions, if they will embrace her tenets. It might seem also to be for the interest of the clergy to aggrandize their office by investing it with the high claims of Church Authority. We do not this, because we dare not do it, and should be apt to laugh in each other's face when performing our parts, as Cicero says did the priests and augurs of Rome when heathen, and as we know some do now when Rome is Christian. We have no interest but to learn the truth, and we have all the means that others have for acquiring it.

Again apologizing for using the word "Puseyism," we proceed to show how it presents that great question of the Bible, or the Church. The controversy now in agitation involves far more important and serious questions, than those which have yet come into popular notice. Some of the

people differ from some of the Bishops in thinking that they have some interest in the matter. The controversy springs from the bosom of the Church of England, and from Oxford, the more ancient of her universities. The Reformation of ecclesiastical abuses was checked in its midway progress in England, and brought to a violent close. Her established Church was the result of a compromise between liberty and authority, between Puritanism and Prelacy. The Puritans wished to remove every vestige of the Roman Hierarchy and discipline, and therefore they struck at the principle of Church Authority. Political changes gave the Puritans a temporary ascendancy, which, however, they soon lost. The English Church, severing itself from the Roman Church, took with it something, and left something behind; and as it has always mourned more or less for some portions of what it left, and been assailed for what it brought away, we should understand its relations to Romanism in these particulars. The English Church retained of the Roman its whole hierarchy, down to the sub-deacon, (the monarch or the prime minister, it is hard at the present time to say whether of the two, being the English Pope,) the Liturgy, translated from the Roman Mass Book, the three creeds, Apostles, Nicene, and Athanasian, two of the sacraments, viz. Baptism and the Eucharist, the exclusive prerogative of Bishops to ordain and confirm, the differences of rank, dress, and privilege among the clergy, festivals, fasts, and saints' days. These were the borrowed jewels. The flesh pots, which the Church of England left behind with Romanism, were the plea of infallibility, the inquisition, the confessional, the sacrifice of the mass, and the spirit of unity and subordination. The American Episcopal Church differs from the English, in taking out of its service book the Athanasian creed, and the forgiveness of sins in the office for visiting the sick.

The English Church began in resisting Popery, and in making concessions to Puritanism. The preface to the Liturgy of Edward VI. contained a passage, lamenting that the work of purification was left incomplete, and breathing a prayer, that those who came after might carry on the work. For attempting to fulfill this very prayer, our fathers were driven to these wildernesses. The Reformers attempted to carry on the work in Elizabeth's time, and they suffered fire and im-

prisonment. A meeting of some Bishops, and other divines, who afterwards became Bishops, met with the Bishop of London in 1641, and suggested the very changes which the Puritans or their successors wished. But the former method was soon reversed ; concessions were now made to the Romanists, instead of to the Puritans, and resistance, instead of opposing the Romanists, turned against the Puritans. It is a remarkable fact, that the Church of Rome has never yet made an official concession to the spirit of reform.

During the brief period in which the Church of England made concessions to the Puritans, it did so only sparsely and grudgingly, not enough to satisfy the Puritans, but too many to please "the Church." Now the great object of the Oxford, or Puseyite, or High Church party in the present controversy, is to win back what was then conceded — to repair breaches, to reinstate Church Authority in all its ramifications, to gather sacred associations around a ritual and ceremonial worship, and to rear an ecclesiastical institution, as an appendix or a preface to the moral law, and as a supplement to Scripture. These are the objects and purposes of those in a Protestant Church, who are said to have Papistical tendencies. If the system must bear the name of an individual, it should rather be called from the Rev. Mr. Froude, with whom it originated.

There has always lingered, indeed there has always appeared, in the English Church, the full spirit of that system, which has now been suddenly brought under popular notice. The system may well bear the name of Oxford Divinity, for in that home of antiquity the system has a natural birth-place and life. Oxford has always been behind the age in its spirit and tendencies ; it has ever been the uncompromising opponent of innovation. It differs widely in history and character from Cambridge, where philosophy and literature and the sciences have been cherished, rather than pictures and images of saints. Oxford will now show to its visitors the prison door, which closed upon Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and the spot where the flames of martyrdom climbed around their flesh. Sydney Smith, himself a pensioner of the Church, says that "all establishments die of dignity ;" a kind of slow poison, which has been killing Oxford ever since its birth. Amid the solemn shades of its Gothic cloisters, in the repose of its kindred bookmen, who relish the dusty aroma of its

treasured volumes, there is very much to nourish the spirit which reveres antiquity, and looks out with dread upon the bustling world, and the restlessness of human thought. A whole ray of sunlight has not been seen at Oxford, since the deep-set abutments and reëntering angles and massive towers of its grey piles were reared, and the crowded walls of dingy stain make the day shorter there, by one hour, than in any other part of the earth under the same latitude.

Lord Bacon with profound and comprehensive wisdom observed, that things alter for the worse spontaneously, if they be not altered for the better designedly. Some kindred spirits at Oxford, whose pleasant home and easy cares gave them much of each other's society, looked out upon the world, and saw a state of things with which they were not pleased. They saw that ecclesiastical authority was every where relaxed, that religious tests in civil interests had been taken off, that "Dis-sent" in doctrine and discipline was advancing with rapid strides, that the various religious sects were providing excitements for the people, in extra meetings, in philanthropic efforts, and visiting societies, and finally, the Oxford men learned, five years after it had been published in the newspapers, that the Roman Church was rebuilding her altars.

Thus moved, a little coterie at Oxford, consisting principally of four clergymen — Dr. Pusey, and the Rev. Messrs. Newman, Keble, and Williams, began about ten years ago to draw the attention of the public, by the issue of a series of publications, entitled "Tracts for the Times." The series had been extended to the ninetieth number, in the midst of intense excitement and increasing opposition. The object of the Tract No. 90 was to put upon the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England a construction, which would make them acceptable to two different classes of persons, viz. to dissatisfied Romanists, who would be willing to join the Church of England, were it not for her intensely Protestant character, and to dissatisfied members of the Church of England, who were on the point of leaving their own communion because it was so abusive of Rome. This Tract was regarded as a throwing aside of the veil by the Oxford coterie, and was so decided and bold, that the Bishop of Oxford put an end to the publications by the exercise of his authority. Yet this was not putting an interdict upon the promulgation of such opinions. For as the opinions had been advanced in

various works, such as sermons, occasional pamphlets, reviews, essays, stories, poems, &c., so they continued to find their way to the public through the same multiplied channels of the press.

To characterize these publications by any epithets or descriptions, of a merely general character, would scarcely convey an idea of their purport and object. They are for the most part written in a subdued tone, and as their writers would describe it in an "awful manner." Still there is a lordly and presuming spirit, an overbearing and dictatory temper, a self-assured and one-sided mode of address, which are apparent on every page. They show learning of a certain kind; i. e. a remembrance of things that have been forgotten, and which might as well remain under oblivion; dry and useless recollections of past follies and errors, old wives' fables, nonsensical legends, and exploded superstitions, revived for the sake of the reverence which once attached to them. They presume upon the ignorance of the multitude, and take no note of those perplexities which invest religious histories. The deep and involved questions in spiritual philosophy and in historical records, touching the very foundations of faith, and tasking the most thoughtful minds in civilized Christendom, are nowhere recognised or spoken of in the "Tracts."

And now the question arises, do their authors advocate Popery, Romanism? We may answer as they answer, No! They are the only consistent Episcopalians; they alone are true to the theory of their Church. Individuals among them have trespassed on the Roman territory, but the sect has not, for the field which they have labored upon is common to Papists and Episcopalians; it has never been fenced off by either party. Undoubtedly there is at the bottom of the new movement a lingering fondness for Roman prerogatives and glories; perhaps there is a rivalry in the love of ceremony and the love of power; the tail of the dragon does indeed appear, and some of the same kind of paint as that which covers all over the scarlet lady of Babylon. But the Oxford writers insist, that they are only seeking to win back the forced concessions of their Church; that all their doctrines were recognised by their old Divines, and are part and parcel of Episcopacy, of the system of Church Authority and Institution, which have been cast into the shadow and overlooked or undervalued. . They

do not like the term *Protestant*, because it is a mere negation; but they prefer the term *Primitive* as designating their Church. They maintain that the Reformation did more evil than good — that laymen cannot deduce the principles of Christian faith from the Scriptures — that there is no salvation out of the Church — that “the *Sacraments*, not *Preaching*, are the sources of Divine Grace” — that the confessional, and commemorative services for the dead, and prayers to the saints should again come into use — that the instruction and authority of Tradition are coördinate with Scripture — and they teach something very like to the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation, the real presence of Jesus Christ in the bread and wine. They make a deceptive use of certain phrases, by employing terms in their own sense, and making from them statements, which are true only in another sense; thus, “the Church is God’s plan of salvation, and man may not improve upon it.”

The Oxford writers lay the weight of their system upon two principal tenets, which form the very groundwork of Episcopacy, the Apostolical succession of the Episcopal clergy, and the exclusive prerogatives of the Church over which they preside. Their purposed endeavor is, to tighten the bonds of Church Authority, to arouse and spiritualize its sleeping and its worldly ministers, to establish in the minds of the people an idea of an especial and sacred prerogative in Episcopacy, to restore a reverence for antiquity and tradition, the observance of festivals and fasts, and a more frequent administration of the Lord’s Supper — to revive various neglected usages of *holy* memory, to build up even to the clouds the wall which separates the Church from all sects, and then to wage an even-handed, or rather an *affectionate* contest with Rome. They advocate true theoretical Episcopacy — but not Protestantism. The two doctrines of the Apostolical Succession, and of the exclusive prerogatives of the Episcopal clergy, are after all the great matters involved and involving all else. On these rests the principle of Church Authority, which, once established, has a place outside of the earth on which to poise its irresistible lever. These are both Episcopal doctrines, and they are both Roman doctrines.

Holding, therefore, the views which we do, of *the Bible only*, and denying all Church Authority, we must maintain that Puseyism, or High Churchism, is more consistent than Low Churchism, and that Romanism is more consistent than

either; i. e. we can recognise only two systems, our own, and Episcopacy with its theory completely carried out, which is Romanism, saving only the necessity of a male Pope. Instead of resting the controversy with Rome upon single doctrines or institutions, which confessedly need some other support than that which Scripture affords them, we strike at the main question of Church Authority, which embraces them all.

There is a kind of half-way profession of Church principles, which charitably seeks to save the souls of *Dissenters*, without wholly letting go its own exclusive assumptions. We do not ask the benefit of this charity, but return it till its donors will give more. The doctrine of the Apostolical Succession of the Bishops is common to High Church and Low Church Episcopacy, and to Romanism. If it means anything, it means the utmost which it claims to mean; if we allow it at all, we will allow it in its completeness. The theory of it is, that the Apostles have living successors and representatives on this earth, who inherit some of their prerogatives, viz. the Bishops of Dioceses, each being the head or superior of several inferior ministers, called Presbyters and Deacons. It is alledged that there has been an unbroken succession of these peculiar representatives of the Apostles, in the line of Bishops, who alone can ordain ministers. These are said to succeed to the powers of Apostles in the government and discipline of the Church, the framing of constitutions, the enacting of laws, the ordaining of ministers, the forgiveness of sins, and the excommunicating of offenders. It is not pretended that Bishops succeed to all the privileges and immunities of those whom the Savior commissioned, for besides empowering them to bind and to loose, he gave them authority over all devils and to cure diseases, to tread on serpents and scorpions, and to eat any deadly thing without harm. A dose of arsenic would doubtless prove as fatal to a Bishop as to a deacon. Probably the precise date, when the line was drawn between the Apostolic privileges which a Bishop inherited, and those which were alienated, is involved in the indistinctness of "Primitive Usage." The exclusive power to ordain the only authorized ministers of the Christian Religion is prerogative enough for Bishops to claim, for if this is admitted to be their right, Christian liberty is gone forever. Power is put into the hands of a few, who may agree how they will use it. A priesthood is established having more authority, be-

cause it transcends this world, than was given to the Jewish high priest, or than was claimed by the priests of Paganism. This doctrine of Apostolical Succession is not a doctrine to be bandied about at uncertainties, or admitted by parts. If it be true, then the very existence of the Christian Church depends upon it; if it is not true, then whoever asserts it, or any portion of it, wrongs many Christians, and trifles with a matter altogether too serious for such treatment. Now this exclusive prerogative of ordaining ministers is of itself an "awful" claim; but when taken in connexion with the functions and authority which this ordination confers, and the claims which are advanced by the ministers thus ordained, that is, putting together Apostolical Succession and the Prerogatives of the Episcopal clergy, we may see what a mighty and imposing fabric is reared. This is the temple which the Oxford divines would construct. Its clergy have the power, and they alone have the power, to administer the Christian Sacraments, and the Sacraments in their hands are magical charms. This is a matter on which we must speak distinctly, and listen with all our minds. The Oxford writers assert that the "Sacraments, not preaching, are the sources of Divine Grace," and they say this in the face of Paul's assertion, that "it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." (1 Cor. i. 21.) They tell us that Baptism, water poured on the head of an infant, wipes out the stain of sin inherited from Adam, removes the curse of God from those young and lovely brows, relieves the child from the penalty of hell torments, and makes it an heir of bliss. And the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, what awful mystery, what dark magic rather, does Oxford divinity gather around that simple and beautiful ordinance, which Jesus Christ asked his disciples to perpetuate, that when they drank wine and ate bread together, on an occasion which saw them assembled for worship, it should be in remembrance of him. What a potent charm does this ordinance become in the hands of an exclusively authorised clergy, the efficacy depending on their functions, not on the spirit of the receiver! The Oxford writers assert that theirs is the only Church, "which has a right to be quite sure that it has the Lord's body to give to his people." The minister becomes a priest, the table an altar, the bread and wine a sacrifice, the communion a mysterious inhalation of some wonder-working grace. This is



not a subject to be treated with levity, whatever it may wear of fond superstition, however wide a departure it may indicate from "the simplicity that is in Christ." These two doctrines, which are part and parcel of the Episcopal theory, being once established, the foundation of Church Authority is laid. How then is there room for dispute as to the superstructure, which those, who are thus exclusively and awfully commissioned and empowered, proceed to build upon it? Why contend about lesser matters which are included in the greater, that pass unquestioned? Inquisitorial examinations into the faith of individuals are necessarily required and allowed; ritual services and obligatory ceremonies are imposed; questions of interpretation are settled by authority; fasts and festivals are appointed; consciences are fitted to ready made bandages, and must yield into them, or grow out to fit them. Now if all these are the legitimate issues of an admitted principle, who has a right to resist or question them? The Bishop, by succeeding to the place of an Apostle, is the only one who can ordain, and shall he not be the judge of the whom or the how? Church Authority is the supplement to, and the interpreter of, the Scripture; it must be revered and never resisted; for whether, in any given case, it be exercised rightly or wrongly, it has the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and can enforce what it decrees. It is indeed for us, for all, who question that authority, to demand that it shall never temporize nor waver, that it shall always be consistent with itself, for only thus can we hope that its utter falsity will be exposed.

This may serve to show what we, what all professed Christians, and all who desire to be Christians, have to do with this controversy. For after all, the question presented so excitingly in the existing controversy around us, is the old question, which some have erroneously thought was disposed of at the Reformation — the question of Church Authority, in addition to the Bible, as possessing claims upon Christians. Shall we admit that a body called *the Church* — supposing such a body can be defined, may assume authority over the consciences, the creed, and the worship of Christians, authority to interpret, define, help out, and guide the faith of disciples, to ordain ceremonies and forms, to build up institutions, and to interfere with the terms of salvation?

In reference to this assumed authority, we take a position which is very easily defined, and as we think, as easily re-

tained. Certainly we see more than we could describe all around us to make us satisfied with it, and resolved to hold to it as the very truth of God, the glory of Christ's Church, the refuge and the joy of conscience. We deny that pretended Church Authority, utterly and entirely ; not one syllable of it will we listen to with allowance ; if no two ministers can agree in their creed, if no congregation can be kept united without it, if all public worship must be suspended, and religious discord must prevail without it, we say, let it be so, for any nuisance on this earth is preferable to that of Church Authority. The fear of such lamentable consequences, as we have summoned up, we esteem as idle as any monk's legend, but if they were all to be sadly realized, we distinctly assert our preference of them to the imposition of Church Authority, which has been the cause of more corruption and infidelity, more ignorance and superstition, more bigotry and hypocrisy, more wretchedness and slaughters, than a legion of other evil agencies.

That principle of Church Authority we utterly resist, and we offer against it the following among many objections :

I. It is wholly unwarranted by the New Testament, and unnecessary for the fulfilment of the purposes of the Christian dispensation. Even the preservation of the Christian records, the only materials which we need for salvation, does not depend upon Church Authority, any more than the preservation of Homer's *Iliad*. Some devoted scholars, whom the Church has excommunicated, have done more for the vindication and the interpretation of those records than the whole bench of Bishops. Their security is found in the hearts and minds of individual believers, and in the over-watching Providence of God. There is no tenet of Christianity which enjoins Church Authority, nor is there any Christian doctrine or institution which requires its aid. Piety before God, and love to man, are its solemn and engaging summaries of duty. And how simple the directions for fulfilling them — for piety, "thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength" — "the hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth" — and for love — "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" — "do good unto all men as ye have opportunity." "This do and thou shalt be saved." Where then is there room, where the necessity

for Church Authority to interfere with man's salvation ? The New Testament contains such pointed rebukes, and so many warnings against Jewish traditionary laws and usages, that it is hardly probable that the Christian Religion would have been left to depend for its very essence upon them. Yet the Oxford men tell us, that tradition is necessary in the interpretation of Scripture. But all the difficulties in the interpretation of Scripture lie in a tenfold degree in the interpretation of tradition. On this point we will enlarge under another head. Tradition is necessary to the Oxford system, but it is not necessary to Christianity. It is found necessary to bring in Tradition, because it is confessed that the Bible does not teach that system. If the Divine Law was once made void by Tradition, we ought to have had warning if the law of Christ was to depend upon it for its very sanction.

II. We object, secondly, the undefinable, the illimitable character, which is essential to Church Authority. What shall it be ? How much ground shall it cover ? How far shall it extend ? How shall it be enforced ? Who shall be its agents ? What penalties shall wait upon it ? These are all serious questions. To assure yourselves that they are not visionary, read all Christian history. Look around you now upon the actors in the present controversy, the Romanists, the High Church and the Low Church Episcopalians, divided on this very point. How marvellously does the controversy illustrate the indefiniteness of Church assumptions ; how manifest is the significance of this objection, as now applied ! Who can close his eyes to its illustration ?

The Churchman says that the Apostles, besides writing, taught orally, and established institutions. These oral teachings and institutions are known only through Tradition. Thus Tradition becomes the needful supplement of Scripture, and Tradition is comprised in the writings of the Fathers. But how many are Fathers, and through what length of time ? Augustine, himself one of the most renowned of the so called Fathers, seems to have spoken most wisely, in saying — “ the Apostles were the only Fathers, and all others are but sons.” There are sixteen Fathers numbered in the first three centuries of the Church. We have about the same number of historians of the Protestant Reformation in the same space of time. A pretty close parallel might be run between these Fathers and these historians as to accuracy, mental and moral

qualifications, prejudices, partialities, and errors. From the whole of either class we can gather much that is useful, we can depend upon no one of them, and all together do not interfere with our right to exercise our own judgment, or to search beyond their writings. Yet this parallel, if strictly carried out, would fail in many particulars, for we have complete histories of the Reformation, and only fragments of the works of the Fathers. Some we know only through professed quotations in the works of others, some are interpolated, some fictitious, and all sadly discordant. Even the Romanists repudiate one hundred and eighty of the extant writings, ascribed to the first six centuries. Bishop Jeremy Taylor candidly allows that the "Fathers consent only to the Canon of Scripture, and hardly to that." Yet Mr. Newman of the Oxford School says, [Lectures on Romanism, p. 225,] "When the sense of Scripture, as interpreted by reason, is contrary to the sense given to it by Catholic antiquity, we ought to side with the latter." But it cannot be doubted that if some of these Fathers were now living, they would be consigned to our lunatic asylums; some of them continued through life in the Pagan notions which they were thought to have cast aside at their conversion.

Such miserable helps as these are said to be necessary to explain the lucid pages of Scripture, and to insure by their aid the salvation of souls. If Scripture needs a Commentary in Tradition, what Commentary shall we have for Tradition, which needs it a thousand fold more? The Jews had a Commentary on the law of Moses, and at least two Commentaries on that. Our Church dignitaries too have liberally furnished us with their Commentaries on the Commentaries of the Fathers, and it is difficult to say in which of them rubbish and nonsense most abound. Our present point, however, has been to show by the evidence of these rival Commentaries, and the human nature that is in them, that the principle of Church Authority is wholly undefinable and illimitable.

III. Again, we object to the principle of Church Authority, that it has, by virtue of its own nature, a constant tendency to aggrandize and extend itself, to make additions to its own code, till it goes far, far beyond the warrant of Scripture, and at last, taking the place of Scripture, wholly supersedes the authority of the record, with a pretence of expounding which it began its encroachments. Was not this precisely the state

of things from which the Reformation in a measure relieved the Christian world? Not to enlarge upon so fruitful a topic, and one so crowded with dread warnings, let us call up some single picture of indisputable historic verity, and wonderfully instructive. Luther had reached the age of manhood, had been the pupil of Monks and of Doctors in Divinity, and was pursuing in a library, large for those days, and in the most famous University of Germany, the studies which resulted in his single-handed combat with the whole hierarchy of Christian Europe. In that library, he by accident discovered one day a Bible, and knew not what it was. A Bible—a holy Bible,—it was to him as much a marvel as it would be to a Hottentot, were it to drop at his feet from the skies. Luther thought that every word of sacred writ was comprised within the clasped covers of his Prayer Book. He knew not that there was a Bible; and the book which he found was covered up in dust. — A true figure of the times was that dusty Bible, and of the state of that Church, whose foundations of sand he was to disturb. Luther knew not that there was a Bible. Yet the whole circling year was pervaded by the functions of Church Authority; there were solemn forms and sacred things all around him, festivals, pictures, rosaries, missals, shrines, madonnas, cells, oratories, chapels, and cathedrals; the city streets and the country roads swarmed with ecclesiastics; Church dignitaries filled the highest posts every where. All these were the issues of Church Authority, and Church Authority had superseded the Bible. When Luther found that Book, he dusted it, and then he read it, and then he sought to make its light shine. The world knows the result. The world has once witnessed the full effects of the principle of Church Authority, when it superseded the Bible. Did it so recommend itself, that we should give it one more trial? It is in the fair way for obtaining such a trial, when it presumes, by one syllable or by one rite, to stand between the human soul and God the searcher of hearts.

IV. To mention but one more objection, and that in itself a decisive one to the principle of Church Authority, we urge the utter impossibility of establishing it upon any legitimate basis. The Roman and English Hierarchies, which respectively call themselves *the Church*, quietly take for granted the very thing at issue, viz. that the opinion of the true disciples of Jesus Christ has at some time been unanimously ex-

pressed, and has through all time been expressed with a uniformity, entirely in contrast with the discordant views of existing sects. Let a period be shown, if possible, when there were no parties in the Christian Church, each embracing some true disciples. As to the Church itself from which this Authority is to issue, we affirm that it is not a visible body, by no earthly possibility could its members be discovered or brought together. The Lamb's Book of Life is not copied from our Ecclesiastical records. As a charitable, or philanthropic institution, or brotherhood of professed believers, perhaps something like a visible Church does exist. But God alone, the Heart-Searcher, He alone knoweth its members. They have never been together since the Saviour ascended on high. They have never been represented in any Council. Their opinion has never been asked as to the authorized interpretation of Scripture, or the legality of any supplement to it. The Church is an invisible body ; its members are known only to Christ their Head, and to God, his Head. Church Authority, even to be entitled to the first condition of its prerogative, would need to be exercised in their name, by their harmonious consent, and enforced by their own justifiable measures. But where are they, where is their representative beneath the skies, who has ever consulted them, where are their decrees ? You might as well ask for the standard to which all the men of good taste in this world would consent, and then assume such a standard, and proceed to persecute all artists who did not adopt it.

But it is said, that the terms and conditions of Church Authority have been defined by General Councils. We answer, there has never been a General Council, and there never can be one on this earth. The thing is an utter impossibility. There have been assemblies so called ; but what were they, how were they constituted ? Picked men, whose opinions and biases were known, have been summoned to them ; the majority, which existed before the Councils were held, had rule in them, and settled the decisions ; dispute in the Councils was followed by persecution out of them. It was thus that Church Authority originated ; thus it has from age to age gathered its accretions.

The first assembly, which is miscalled a General Council, was not held till nearly three centuries after the ascension of the Saviour, and during that period all the heresies and corrup-

tions, which deform the Christian Church, had had their origin and grown rife. A Council was called at Nice, in Bithynia, in the year 325, for the sake of authorizing the corruption of the simple Christian faith, by confounding the Mediator with the Father, the being who was sent on earth to declare the will of God, with the Being who sent him. This object was temporarily attained by the personal influence of the Emperor Constantine, and Athanasius, an enemy of Arius. Gieseler, an ecclesiastical historian of high authority among Orthodox divines, very significantly remarks, "As the number of Arian bishops present was much smaller than that of their opponents, the decision was in favor of Alexander.—It was established, as the Creed of the Church, that the Son was created from the essence of the Father, and was of the same essence as the Father, and the doctrines of Arius were anathematized." The very Christian Emperor Constantine banished all that would not sign the decree. In good sooth, a famous representation of the Christian Church. Let us see how the Assembly was constituted. There is no agreement as to the number of so called Bishops at Nice, but suppose we take the number 318, generally admitted, how could these represent the Christian Church? The little territory of Isauria, a part of Pisidia, itself only a province of Asia Minor, sent seventeen of its Bishops to the Council. The habitable part of Africa, then crowded with Churches, and as large as the whole of Asia Minor, and which, says Bingham, the great Episcopal Annalist, had at that time nearly seven hundred Bishops, sent only *one* to the Council. All Spain sent but *one*, all Gaul, or France, sent but *one*, Rome *had not even one*. Constantine himself in a few years turned the tables in the controversy; Athanasius was banished, and Arius was received to communion. What are we to say, too, when Councils make contrary decisions? Thus Unitarianism was condemned at a Council of 318 Bishops, A. D. 325.—But of the forty-five Councils held in the fourth century, according to Archdeacon Jortin, thirty-two resulted in favor of Arian or Semi-Arian opinions, and only thirteen prevailed on the other side. Says Jerome—"The world groaned to find itself Arian." So much for the earthly representations of that kingdom, which Jesus Christ said was "not of this world." Where then shall we look for a legitimate basis of Church Authority, in interpreting or in making additions to Scripture?

These are the heads of but a small part of the objections, which we might urge to the principle of Church Authority, as imposing either doctrines, ceremonies, or institutions. We dread it, and resist it, because we know its illegitimacy, its arrogance, its enmity to liberty of thought, its encroachments upon the Christian faith. For behold now in this light those two great assumptions, alike of the Roman and the English system, resting upon Church Authority, the Apostolic Succession of the Priesthood, and its exclusive and marvellous prerogatives. Scripture arguments are mere shadows in the train of proofs, by which an attempt is made to sustain Episcopacy; its chief support is from discordant Tradition. The whole object of the Oxford Tract, No. 85 — the most powerful one in the series, is to show the insufficiency of Scripture.

Amid the mist and uncertainty which gather around the early centuries of Christianity, we can conclude with a good degree of assurance, that the forms of ecclesiastical discipline varied in different places. Archbishop Whately candidly admits, what it would seem an unbiased reader of the New Testament would at once discover, that neither the Saviour nor his Apostles instituted any hierarchy, appointed any disciplinary code, or created any extra-Scriptural tribunal. The form of discipline was left wholly free to the choice of the disciples, according to their preferences and their circumstances. And this liberty was fully used. Rome appears early to have adopted the Episcopal form, Alexandria the Presbyterian, Carthage the Congregational. Diocesan Episcopacy, as it now exists, i. e. the superiority of ministers, called Bishops, to other ministers, called Presbyters and Deacons, was a thing wholly unknown for at least two full centuries of the Church, and had an origin wholly independent of Apostolic appointment. The Apostles and their converts preached in Jewish Synagogues, where they could find them, and very naturally, the leader of the Synagogue became, on his conversion, the minister of the Church. The Apostles, of course, stood foremost and took precedence every where, and all whom they ordained to the ministry had equal privileges. By the suggestion of the Apostles, the disciples chose certain persons to relieve them of a labor, which interfered with their other duties. The seven individuals thus selected were charged with the duty of distributing the charity funds,



and tending upon the communion table, that the Apostles might give themselves "continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word." (Acts, vi.) These persons are called deacons, and they discharged the office now discharged by individuals bearing the same title in our Congregational Churches. Yet Episcopacy makes them an inferior order of clergy. The two other orders are designated by the names of Bishops and Presbyters. But these names in the New Testament designate precisely the same office, namely, that of the minister who presided over a congregation, neither the one nor the other term conveying the idea of dependence, of superiority, or inferiority; nor can a single text be quoted in which the word, Bishop, denotes a person who presided over several congregations. The identity of the terms, Bishop and Presbyter, is apparent from Acts, xx. 17 and 28, where St. Paul sends to Ephesus for the Elders or Presbyters in that city, and then addresses them as Bishops, each having charge of one flock, not of many. The Episcopalian must here admit, not only the identity of these two titles, but also that there were several Bishops, or Overseers in a single city. There is no avoiding this admission, and it rests not upon disjointed tradition, but upon the Apostolic word. Let Episcopalians tell us who was the presiding Bishop of Ephesus. Was it His Grace the Archbishop John, or His Holiness Pope Peter, or the Right Reverend Barnabas, or Cardinal Timothy? The smile, which those queries provoke, shows how utterly at variance are all ecclesiastical dignities with the simple usages of Holy, Apostolic times. Even Paul and Barnabas, themselves Apostles, were ordained to their work not by other Apostles, as Bishops so called now ordain Bishops, but by certain teachers or elders at Antioch, (Acts, xiii.) and they afterwards received the right hands of fellowship from three Apostles, (Galatians, ii. 9.)

The earliest pretended records subsequent to the New Testament, from which it is attempted to substantiate the Apostolic appointment of a Hierarchy, are certain Epistles ascribed to Ignatius. No early authors mention these Epistles; there are two sets of them, differing widely from each other; they advance doctrines which were not heard of till more than an hundred years after the death of Ignatius;\* scholars of all

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\* See Note at the end of the article.

denominations doubt them, and their most strenuous advocates admit that they have been grossly corrupted. Why look to such a doubtful record for one of the most essential conditions for the existence of the Christian Church? If Paul could find room in his Epistles to send for his cloak and parchments, and to transmit kind greetings to his personal friends, why could he not spare a single line to tell all coming ages that the Church, which the Saviour had founded, was based upon Diocesan Bishops?

We do indeed trace this Hierarchy to Tradition, to uncensured Tradition, compelling the observance of a custom which convenience and circumstance first recommended. As the central Synagogue, congregation, or church in town or city enlarged, it was convenient for some of its members in the suburbs to establish new places of worship. These might be presided over by some fit person, sent from the parent congregation to preach, exhort, and pray; the minister of the parent congregation being still looked to for counsel, sympathy, and help. This was the natural origin of Episcopacy, and then it had an unnatural and an unscriptural growth amid abounding corruptions. And from this corruption has now sprouted the pretence of Apostolical Succession for the Roman and the English Priesthood. The pretence is not to be allowed, for it identifies the very existence of the Christian Church with poor fables, and rotten supports, and fearful hazards. If every link of the chain cannot be traced and proved, what a risk holds our faith in peril! We well know how a certain class of minds may be wrought upon by the bold assertion of especial authority, on the part of a particular order of ministers. This is the secret of much of the remaining hold, which Episcopacy has upon the affections of its disciples. There is great power in the pretence. The Oxford divines do not flinch, they are consistent and bold in laying down its *awful* conditions. They assert that there is no power or virtue in the Lord's Supper, if it be administered by those not ordained by Bishops, and that all ministers, who presume to officiate at the rite without such ordination, "are treading in the footsteps of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, whose awful punishment you read of in the Book of Numbers, xvi. comp. with Jude 11." Tract 35. This is plain speech. So also do they speak plainly when they say, in tracing their Hierarchy, that "every link in the chain is known from St. Peter

to the present English Archbishops." But this, to speak in equally plain terms, is a downright misstatement. No mortal man can tell us who were the first seven Bishops of Rome. Baronius, a Popish historian, admits that, in a succession of fifty Popes, not one of them was either pious or virtuous, that during different series of years there had been no Popes, at other times two or three together, and that the rival Popes of Rome and Avignon excommunicated each other. Then, too, the Roman Church, from which the English Church descends, has excommunicated its daughter, and the ban has never been removed. Observe, too, what a risk of extinction the English Church was once subjected to. During the period in which England was without a King; and Cromwell ruled it, Episcopacy was put aside. At the Restoration of the Monarchy only nine of the Bishops survived, the eldest being near four score years of age. Had Cromwell, who at his death was but fifty-nine, reached that same age, it is more than probable that England could not have furnished the three Bishops necessary to constitute another Bishop. Rome, who had excommunicated her, would not have helped her in the emergency. Then what would have become of the Church of Christ? It would have been forever extirpated. This sad chance had been foreseen, but not provided against; a hasty security was seized upon as soon as possible, and thirteen new Bishops were consecrated in a little more than two months.

Through how corrupt a channel at many intervals and in many characters must the line of Bishops proceed! Some of them during the Middle Ages had their sacred office purchased in infancy, were inducted into it in boyhood, and without knowing how to read the New Testament, or even that such a book existed, they might don their robes once a year for some ceremonial, and spend the rest of their time in lawless fighting, or intrigue. Yet the Christian Church is to be identified with the prerogatives of many men such as these, while Christian ministers themselves, like Watts, Doddridge, and Robert Hall, who have kindled the life of piety in millions of hearts, are to be considered as intruders, whose labors God will not bless! But let the theory be held in consistency, if held at all.

The distinction of orders among the clergy, wholly unscriptural as it is, is followed by pernicious consequences,

consequences which, so far as they affect the faith, impede its vital power, rather than constitute one of its essential conditions. Its first fruit is rivalry. It has become the fashion for the Bishops of the Episcopal sect in this country, to take the name of our Commonwealths. This custom has neither propriety nor antiquity nor precedent to justify it. The pretension may not do much harm now, but if the sect should largely increase, who that observes the strife for all other offices does not know, that the old question of the disciples — “Who shall be greatest?” — will frequently come up in dispute and bitter feeling, and party division? How wise, then, was the Saviour’s counsel — “Ye are all brethren!”

These, then, are the weak foundations, and the objectionable fruits of the principle of Church Authority, as imposed upon Christians without warrant of Scripture. Our grounds of assurance, our duty to resist it, are plain. It will not be necessary that we set ourselves in constant warfare against it. Error is ever continually struggling to correct itself; indeed it accomplishes much that way, though amid blunders. The upholders of the anti-Protestant principles, which we have examined, exercise the private judgment which some of them deny to us, by quarrelling with one another. One of our comforts, though not altogether the most Christian solace, must be, that those who insist upon the claims of Ecclesiastical authority have disputes among themselves. Rome and England will never join hands upon it. Archbishop Whately, primate of the English Church in Ireland, has bred confusion in his own camp, by denying the Divine right and the Scriptural sanction of Episcopacy, as he rests it upon expediency and civil liberty to choose amid forms where all is free. The Bishop of Ohio has cast public censure upon the Bishop of New York. As to the little ceremonies and observances which some would restore, as parts of the ancient faith, it is not probable that laymen, to any extent, will feel an interest in them. They are fitted to give pleasure only to a priestly or a formal spirit, to engage the feelings of him who enacts them, and the children among the spectators. They remind us always of a military parade, in which the officers have all the glory.

Let it be understood how and why we object to the formularies and ceremonies appointed by Church Authority. Their illegality is their first obnoxious feature, their inherent ten-

dency to increase and exalt themselves is another ; and besides these features, common to all which an attempt is made to enforce, they come at last to be confounded with the essential conditions and principles of faith. Great and good was the example of Hezekiah, king of Judah ; for when he came to his throne we are told, that he did what was right in the sight of God, demolishing images, and breaking in pieces even the brazen serpent, which Moses had made, because prostituted to idolatry.

While we thus entirely renounce all Church Authority, as beset with manifold evils, we are thrown upon the Protestant principle of Private Judgment applied to the Bible. We go all lengths with this principle, we allow it, we urge it, we insist upon it. But we are reminded of the dangers which beset this principle too, of the wild vagaries of Sectarianism, of Mormonism, and Millerism. We answer that we regret all this, but we cannot help it, neither could Church Authority restrain it, when the Church was all powerful. We know the dangers of Rationalism and Infidelity. They are fearful. But how are they to be resisted ? Authority is the most weak of all bulwarks against them. If Miller undertakes to deduce the era of the last conflagration from the length of horns and trumpets, Church Authority will not convince him he is wrong. If the prophet of the Mormons has found another Bible, the hierarchy, which professes to sustain itself upon the older book, will be no match for him. We do indeed require that common sense, sober, instructed reason, and sound discretion be admitted, as the conditions of the right interpretation of the Bible, as of all other books. Then the risk and hazard, which is run in the exercise of private judgment as respects faith, is no greater than the risk and hazard as respects conduct in life, which is run by every individual in the exercise of his moral freedom, in a world where sin abounds.

We are content to rest the security of the Christian Religion upon the wants of the human heart and the value of the Bible. We have no fear that it will perish for want of a hierarchy. The necessities and wants of every age will give to it proper forms, services, and institutions. Our fathers were satisfied with unwarmed meeting houses, with *deaconing* their hymns, and with the music of the human voice. We have introduced the furnace and the organ ; some of us kneel,

some of us stand, and some of us sit, when we pray ; and we believe that the song of praise and the prayer of faith teach the throne of the Most High now as of old time. So long as the Epistles to Timothy and Titus are extant, Christians will know what are the qualifications of worthy ministers, in heart and mind, in temper and talents, and in life, and will need no priestly office or support. Paul directs Timothy as follows : “ And the things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also,”—faithful men, able to teach, these are the New Testament qualifications for Christian ministers. 2 Tim. ii. 2. Those who love ceremonies may place them on their proper basis of taste, temperament, and preference, and then they will occasion no Holy Wars.

We can feel the power both of ceremonial and of simple worship. We confess that we have been impressed by the solemn services of the ancient cathedral, where emblems of holiness and loveliness addressed all the senses, where each Christian grace and virtue had an altar, a saint, a marble statue, and a painted canvass, where a mysterious awe enthralled the feelings, and the melodious symphonies of choral strains raised mortals to the skies and brought Seraphim down, where the priests appeared to be a holy company and the frankincense an accepted offering. We confess the power of such a worship. And we have felt the same, we know not whether more or less, in the cold churches of Scotland, where paint and organs are heresies, and the worship is stifened without a form. Let us combine, if we will, all that impresses us in either, in our own Churches, remembering always the only condition of accepted worship, which has the authority of Jesus Christ—“ God is a spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth.”

G. E. E.

## NOTE. Page 295.

Bishop De Lancey in his Sermon at the consecration of Bishop Eastburn, (page 17,) quoted these "Epistles of Ignatius," with the same apparent reverence with which he quoted Scripture, neither dropping the slightest hint, or making the most distant reference, which would warn his hearers or readers of the exceeding dubiousness allowed by scholars to invest those documents. Is this candid, even though he be fully persuaded of their authority? We prefer the eloquent and truth-telling plea of the great Milton, who says,

"To what end then should they cite him [Ignatius] as authentic for Episcopacy, when they cannot know what is authentic in him, but by the judgment which they brought with them, and not by any judgment which they might safely learn from him? How can they bring satisfaction from such an author, to whose very essence the reader must be fain to contribute his own understanding? Had God ever intended that we should have sought any part of useful instruction from Ignatius, doubtless he would not have so ill-provided for our knowledge, as to send him to our hands in this broken and disjointed plight; and if he intended no such thing, we do injuriously in thinking to taste better the pure evangelic manna by seasoning our mouths with the tainted scraps and fragments of an unknown table, and searching among the verminous and polluted rags, dropped over-worn from the toiling shoulders of time, with these deformedly to quilt, and interlace the entire, the spotless and undecaying robe of truth, the daughter, not of time, but of heaven, only bred up here below, in Christian hearts, between two grave and holy nurses, the doctrine and discipline of the Gospel."—*Prelatical Episcopacy*.

We subjoin a few authorities from the "house divided against itself."

## BISHOP STILLINGFLEET.

"By the loss of records of the British churches, we cannot draw down the succession of Bishops from the Apostles' times.

## REV. E. J. RIDDLE.

"Whatever may become of the Apostolic succession, as a theory, or an institute, it is impossible, at all events, to prove the fact of such succession, or to trace it down the stream of time. It is impossible to prove the personal succession of modern bishops, in an unbroken Episcopal line, or from the Apostles, or men of the Apostolic age."

## BISHOP BURN.

"Bishops and Priests, both were one office, in the beginning of Christ's religion. It is not of importance whether the Priest made the Bishop, or the Bishop the Priest; considering that in the beginning of the Church, there was no difference between a Bishop and a Priest.

Bishops, *as they be now*, were after Priests. In the New Testament, he, who is appointed to be Bishop or Priest, needeth no consecration, for election thereto is sufficient. Temporal men may preach and teach, and in cases of necessity, institute Ministers — they may preach the word of God and minister sacraments, and also appoint men to those offices, with the consent of the congregation."

BISHOP BURNET.

"This ransacking of records about a succession of orders, is not a thing possible for any to be satisfied about — for a great many ages, all those instruments are lost, so that how ordinations were made in the primitive church, we cannot certainly know. The condition of Christians were very bad, if persons must certainly know how all ministers have been ordained since the Apostles' days — for it is impossible to satisfy them, unless the authentic records of all the ages of the church could be showed, which is impossible, for though we were satisfied that all the priests of this age were duly ordained, yet, if we be not assured that all who ordained them, had orders rightly given them, and so upwards till the days of the Apostles, the doubt will still remain."

ARCHBISHOP WHEATELY.

"There is not a minister in all Christendom who is able to trace up, with any approach to certainty, his own spiritual pedigree. It is inconceivable that any one, even moderately acquainted with history, can feel a certainty, or any approach to certainty, that, amidst all the confusion and corruption of the dark ages, no one unduly consecrated or ordained was admitted to sacred offices. Even in the memory of persons living, there existed a Bishop concerning whom there was so much mystery and uncertainty prevailing as to when, where, and by whom he had been ordained, that doubt existed in the minds of many persons living, whether he had been ordained at all. Suppose the probability of an unbroken succession to be as 100 to 1 in each separate case, in favor of the legitimacy and regularity of the transmission, and the links to amount to 50, (or any other number,) the probability of the unbroken continuity of the whole chain must be computed at 99-100 of 99-100 of 99-100, &c. to the end of the whole fifty."



## PARKER'S DE WETTE ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

IN undertaking to give our readers a notice of this work in the few pages that can be devoted to it, we find ourselves in great difficulty. So many questions are treated, so many important principles are discussed, such vast variety of topics is introduced by these two volumes, that the reviewer in despair is tempted to copy the table of contents, and end with saying, that a perusal of the book will reward all those who prize affluence of learning or independence of thought. We cannot even enumerate the number of controverted points, which author and translator endeavor to settle. Much less can we review their arguments or enter fully into the merits of any of their leading doctrines. A few words upon the author and the translator, upon the aim of the work and its principal features, must suffice for the present.

As a theologian and moralist De Wette is well known to our readers, and little need be said of him in these respects. Mr. Parker has been first to introduce him to us as a biblical critic; a character in which he stands higher in Germany than as theologian or moralist. In a letter to the writer of this notice, the author allows, that his dogmatic theological works have had no remarkable influence upon his countrymen, both on account of the middle ground which he occupies between the dominant parties, the orthodox party of Tholuck and others, and the rationalist party of Strauss and his school; and on account of the Friesian philosophy which so often appears in his views of religion. These causes have not interfered with the success of the work before us. It is his most successful labor, and has already reached the fifth edition. It is purely a literary effort, and does not pretend to advocate any particular dogmas in philosophy or theology.

De Wette's labors began with the investigation of the Old Testament. As early as the age of twenty-five, he published a dissertation on Deuteronomy, which shows that he had then begun the train of thought, which is so fully carried out in this Introduction. The next two years he published two volumes upon the Pentateuch, and thereby divided with Vater the reputation of originality in this department of criticism. The matured results of his critical labors appear in the present

volumes. His Introduction to the Old Testament came out in 1817, when the author had attained the age of thirty-seven, and it reached the fifth edition in 1840. It has been revised by him with the light of all recent labors in the same department, so that it now is a treasury of knowledge on the subject. When we remember, that he has also put forth a work on Jewish Antiquities, and a new Translation of the entire Old Testament, besides writing much upon the doctrines and ethics of that ancient volume, we cannot but look with respect upon this effort to introduce to us the literature of the chosen people of God.

They who open these volumes, expecting to find the rich fancy and copious illustration of Herder, will be sadly disappointed. On that very account, however, they ought to honor the author, since his fancy is prone to be even too exuberant, and he must often have made a sacrifice in preferring the duty of the critic to the impulse of the poet. His aim was to give a critical Introduction, and it is precisely this that he has done. No man can, even in the driest critical labors, hide his predominant tastes and opinions; and we cannot but allow that, under the severe mantle of the critic, we may detect the free step of the liberal Christian and the buoyancy of a poetic soul. We should be sorry, however, to have no other assurance of his evangelical faith than what he has here given us. They, who are familiar with his recent expositions of the New Testament, will not be in any danger of confounding him with Strauss and other deniers of our Savior's divine mission.

Mr. Parker has given great labor to his enterprise. His translation is very idiomatic English, and, so far as we have compared it, faithful to the spirit of the original. In some cases, however, the rhetoric is rather more characteristic of the translator than the author. The additions to De Wette's text are so many as often to raise the doubt, whether the title is not a misnomer, and the translator's name should not stand side by side with the author's. The title originally designed would have been more appropriate — Introduction to the Old Testament on the basis of De Wette. If all the additional matter had been inserted in notes or an appendix, it would have been more appropriate. It is taking great liberties with an author to interpolate his work, add whole sections and enlarge others, and sometimes oppose, in one section, the doctrine maintained in

the previous one. Every author should have the privilege of fixing the proportions of his own work, and the translator should beware of interfering with his plan, although with the purpose of improving it. Yet Mr. Parker has made the work much more valuable by his additions. His references to the labors of English critics, his quotations from distinguished German scholars, and the philological information gathered into the appendix of the first volume, should entitle him to the thanks of every American student. Although holding opinions in which few of us can follow him, we should respect the spirit which seems to have guided these labors. He carries himself with the dignity becoming a scholar, and leads us to hope that he will cease to pain the religious community, by the tone of his remarks upon doctrines and institutions dear to them. Only in an occasional note a little of the old spirit breaks out. May it be permanently exorcised. The words of his preface incline us to believe, that deeper wisdom and experience have brought to him deeper humility. "It is but fair to suppose," he says, "that in a work so large and so difficult, I have made mistakes. These I leave for the critic's sagacity to discover, and for his kindness to excuse; hoping that he will remember how often the spirit is willing, while the flesh is weak; and while he exposes my errors, will do it in candor, and with only the love of truth." The reader should ask no more and accord no less.

In looking over the pages of the work itself, the reader's first feeling must be one of disappointment. The subjects, which he expects to see handled with a master's skill, are hardly touched upon. The character of the ancient covenant, the divine authority of the Law, the divine mission of the Prophets, the purpose of Providence in the singular discipline of the Jewish race, the distinction between the temporary and lasting elements in the Old Testament, between the words of man and the word of God, the bearing of Judaism upon Christianity, and the reflex light of the Gospel upon the Law; these are topics upon which the philosopher and theologian are most curious to be informed, but upon which the author has very little to say. His aim is entirely critical, — or to use his own word, *historico-critical*. He distinguishes the aim of this department from that of other departments of biblical study, from *biblical history*, *archæology*, *geography*, *chronology*, and *hermeneutics*. He considers first the Bible collection in general, then gives a general introduction to the canonical books of the Old Testament,

and lastly, a particular introduction to each of those books. The result is, that the work is rather one of useful reference than entertaining perusal. We are inclined to think, that notwithstanding the author's careful definition of his purpose, he might have taken a wider range, without transgressing the proper limits of an introduction. It is impossible to prepare one fitly for reading a book, without making known the object of that book. An introduction to Homer should inform us of the purpose of the poem. An introduction to the Bible must give us an idea of the aim of the sacred books. De Wette indeed mentions, that the consideration of it in a religious view, that is, according to the dogma of inspiration and revelation, belongs to dogmatic history. Yet without expressly stating his doctrinal views, he all along implies them. His omission of the dogmatic view amounts to a declaration of disregard of its dogmatic worth. One who holds a different view of the Old Testament, one who views it as a revelation of the Eternal Word, and as to be understood by a Christian sense of the plan of God, in preparing the way for the gospel, will, of course, pursue a different mode. The Churchman, who regards the ancient theocracy as in all respects established by the Almighty, and as still having authority in its main features, cannot but show his opinion in all his criticisms, and will deem every sacred book unintelligible, apart from this doctrine. He will even rest the purity of the canon upon his doctrine of Church authority. Without going so far as this, it does seem no more than just to give more prominence, than our author has done, to the leading purpose of revelation, especially in a work where the course of remark is often so conjectural, that trifling considerations are decisive, and a general principle is needed, to guard against capricious inferences. To view the several books of the Old Testament separately, and without much regard to their associate significance, is somewhat like examining the various members of the human body, without heeding the vital power that gives unity and life to all. To those of us who are disposed to value, more than De Wette, the doctrine of the unity of divine revelation, and the peculiar mission of the Jewish race, the present work must be unsatisfactory. The view of Häverník upon the office of an introduction seems to us more correct. He affirms, in opposition to De Wette, that biblical introduction should find a scientific principle and development in itself. Yet we ought, on many accounts, to be glad that we have now a

work of reference, that aims merely to be a treasury of critical information, without busying itself with the more ambitious inquiries into the purport of revelation, and the nature of religious inspiration.

The first question that people ask, when a new work on the Old Testament comes forth, is, what does it say of the miracles of the ancient faith; what authority does it give to the record as a supernatural revelation? Upon this subject the translator is more explicit than the author, since the latter does not affirm, whilst the former seems to deny any miraculous interpositions of God. De Wette treats of the several books under the three heads, *theocratical-historical*, *theocratical-inspired*, and *poetic* books. The first two heads comprise the Law and the Prophets. Without undertaking to decide dogmatically upon the truth of the miraculous sanctions of the Law, or the supernatural illumination of the Prophets, he holds these subjects up in such a light, as to leave us in little doubt, regarding his opinions. He states, that every cultivated mind must at least have some doubt of the Mosaic miracles, and refers them to early tradition, without pretending to judge critically of the grounds of each tradition. He looks upon the theocracy as an established power, ascribes to its officers or members the authorship of the Mosaic books, without entering into minute discussion of the authority of the theocracy. His use of the word *Mythology*, in reference to the Old Testament miracles, hardly admits of the broad significance, which the translator seems to place upon it; and by no means amounts to a denial of original fact, as the basis of tradition.

As the most important points that are treated, the author's view of the Pentateuch and the Prophets demands our attention. He regards the Pentateuch as the theocratical epic poem of the Israelites, without denying that there is an historical basis at the bottom. He does not ascribe the authorship to Moses, nor any one writer, but to various compilers. He follows out the path of criticism begun by Eichhorn, and separates the document in which God is spoken of as Elohim, and that in which he is called Jehovah. He ascribes the authorship of the Elohistic document to some writer in the time of Samuel or Saul, that is, about four hundred years after Moses. He sees traces in the Jehovistic document of an age after David. He assigns the work of the final compiler, the authorship of the book of Deuteronomy, to a period still later, after Solomon, to

the times of Josiah, when the unity of worship was first carried out. It is not for us to dismiss, with a word of contempt, a theory which is sustained with such apparent candor and vast learning. We must all acknowledge that the Pentateuch was not finished in the time of Moses, since it records his death. Yet the view, which attributes the idea of the work, and its principal execution, to the great law-giver, seems encumbered with far less difficulty, and much more accordant with the nature of things. That Moses should not leave some permanent record of his laws, it is hard for us to believe. He did not legislate for a day, but for ages. The explanation given by Dr. Palfrey, of the obvious difficulty in attributing the Pentateuch to Moses, is far more satisfactory than the subtile conjectures of more ambitious critics. We are not afraid, moreover, to lean much upon the word of him who declared, that he came to fulfil the Law and the Prophets; nor are we disposed to regard an epic poem as a likely work for the appointed Messiah to be sent into the world to fulfil. Indeed, the revelation may be one thing and the record of it another thing; we may believe in the authority of the Mosaic law, and yet admit that human hands have added to the divine work. But De Wette's hypothesis throws too much uncertainty upon the whole Pentateuch to accord with the declarations of our Saviour, or to give us any adequate idea of the genuine plans of the great law-giver. Yet he by no means robs it of all sanctity, as the infidel does. For he believes in a historic basis, and regards the superstructure rather as the work of faith than of fraud.

Of course his view of the Pentateuch gives us a clue to his view of the Prophets, since the Mosaic books contain some of the most important prophecies. The prophet he regards as the inspired teacher of the theocracy, differing in this respect from the theocratic historian. "The former, occupied with quiet contemplation of the past, gives rather the true picture of affairs, than his own view of them; but the latter, impelled by his active participation in the present, and in the yet unformed future, living in the fire of inspiration and of holy zeal, expresses his own thoughts, demands, and wishes, cares, and hopes, rather than paints the history of his time." De Wette by no means adopts the rationalistic view, that the prophetic books were written subsequent to the events of which they treat. He regards the prophets as actually seers of the future, not indeed by a particular inspiration regarding a few especial events, but

by a higher intuition of divine truth, and by that of the course of earthly events, both past and future, and by virtue of which they were prophets and foretellers of the future. Yet in the application of this idea to particular prophecies the author rather disappoints us. Instead of regarding the splendid passages in which Isaiah describes the glory, that is to dawn upon the people, as predictions of our Saviour's coming, he refers them to the reign of Cyrus, the restorer of Jerusalem, and is not willing to attribute their authorship to Isaiah. We cannot surrender the evidence of the spirit to that of philological subtleties, nor be satisfied with the reasoning that robs us of the glories of the evangelical prophet. The exalted tone of those passages must indicate a higher theme than the Persian monarch, and leads us to believe that the striking coincidences between the prophecy and Christ's mission are not merely accidental. Without drawing too largely upon our credulity, we may take a view of the prophecies of the Messiah, which preserves their sanctity, whilst it does not regard the prophets as the mechanical mouth-pieces of dark sayings. Carry out the doctrine of a higher intuition stated by our author, of the elevation of the spontaneous over the reflective reason, and we may regard the prophets as raised into such communion with the divine mind, as to recognise the higher laws of the divine government, have intimations of spiritual truths in advance of their age, and to be favored with glimpses of the new dispensation in the gospel. We know very well, that it is dangerous to substitute theories for facts, and slight the evidence of the letter in order to further our views of the significance of the spirit. But, perhaps from our own dulness, we see no sufficient evidence of the opposition of a just criticism of the leading Messianic prophecies to the above view of the illumination of the prophets. No respectable scholar needs to be informed, that the name prophet does not necessarily indicate a seer of the future. But it is not on this word, that we would base our view of the predictions of the Old Testament.

Passing from the prophets to the poets of the Old Dispensation, we find ourselves more on terms of agreement with our author. He is admirably fitted for the office of critic of poetry in all its forms. Adding such poetic taste to such critical knowledge, he has done important service to the scholar, in opening the riches of the sacred poets, especially by his various works upon the *Psalms*. His ideas upon the rhythm of those noble

lyrics have, we believe, the merit of originality as well as good sense. By temperament our author is better adapted to be a critic of the poetical than of the theocratical books, since he abounds in imagination, and has comparatively little of the practical, executive turn of mind, that would lead him to trace out, with love, the workings of a system based upon divine authority, and acting through an established priesthood.

We have hardly glanced in this notice at the main points of Mr. Parker's volumes, and must now leave the subject with a few words upon the general impression produced by the book. Nothing is said in its pages powerful enough to shake the received doctrine of liberal Christians, that the Old Testament is a record of a divine revelation, although not a verbal revelation itself. Notwithstanding the many departures of the author from generally received opinions, and his evident skepticism as to many views, that are held sacred by all denominations of Christians in this country, he has nothing of the low infidel spirit, that would rob the ancient Scriptures of their spirituality, and regard them as a tissue of falsehoods. Even where he recognises mythology rather than history, he traces the origin of the myth rather to poetic fancy or credulous belief, than to wilful deceit. Nevertheless the book will fail to satisfy those of us, who believe that Jesus Christ came in the fulness of time to fulfil the Law and the Prophets. We must still wait for a work that shall unite with a criticism, equally minute and learned, more regard for the unity of revelation, more reference to the Word manifest in the flesh, to which the Law guides us as a schoolmaster. From Hengstenberg, and such devourers of marvels, we pray to be delivered; and not a few of our Orthodox brethren entertain the same feeling regarding them. Yet we believe, that without resting in his monstrous dogmatism, we may find a good and rational resting place, without going as far as De Wette and his translator. One consoling thought is, that we are not called upon to solve every problem in the criticism of the Old Testament. Standing on that mount of spiritual vision, where the Light of the World shines upon us, we can look back upon past ages, and see the divine ray gilding every important prominence, without feeling ourselves obliged to explore every cave and valley among the mountains. We must insist upon the duty and the privilege of judging all previous words of revelation by him, who is to us the eternal Word. The first chapter of John's Gospel is worth libraries of



criticism, in the interpretation of the aim of the Old Testament.

In conclusion, we must thank Mr. Parker for the labor he has bestowed upon his work, and for the rich stores of learning he has opened. May all the heresies, that are imported into this country from Germany, come attended thus with instruction enough to be an antidote to their own errors, and with enough of labored argument and spiritual purpose to baffle those, who may be seeking additions to their stock of flippant witticisms. Should the publication by its ability and extravagance call forth some master mind in opposition to its doctrines, who shall unite equal freedom with more of faith, our obligation to Mr. Parker will be greatly enhanced.

S. O.

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#### CENSORIOUS SPEECH.

**SPEECH** is the mightiest instrument of man's power. Speech is the manifestation of his soul, and in that his power lies, and from that his power comes. It is the exponent of his inward faculties, of his reason, of his imagination, of his affections, and of his will. By speech these faculties are extended; by speech their results are perpetuated and are preserved. Speech is the great intermediate agency between man's ideas, and man's achievements; the medium which communicates thought, and the impulse which communicates action. Speech is embodied in all that men have done, and *lives* in all that men are doing. The glory of speech is, therefore, co-extensive with the glory of mind; and by whatever we estimate the glory of the one, we estimate the glory of the other. It would be pleasant exceedingly, to pursue this train of reflection; but it would not be expedient, for the purpose of the present paper requires me to circumscribe my subject within humbler limits.

Some remarks, which I intend to make on the sins of the tongue, will have but slight reference to the more heinous offences of the class. This would be indeed a boundless field. Who could indicate even the prominent aspects in such a wilderness of

transgression? All that darkens man, and all that maddens him, and all that curses him, has been made instrumental in words. Words have awakened the terrors of superstition, and inflamed the rage of bigotry, and unsheathed the sword of fanaticism, and spread wide the insanity of persecution. Words have been the breath of war, and from the death of Abel until now, that has been a breath of hatred and desolation. Words have perpetuated wrong in unrighteous laws; recorded evil for the unborn; stamped infamy on the guiltless; and blurred the handwriting of God with the wickedness of man. Words have darkened counsel, and perverted judgment; and falsehood has been spoken where only truth should enter; and the sophistries of self-interest have triumphed against the cause of the poor, and the declamations of ambition against the interest of millions. Words, sent out as on the winds, by the modern Press, if in many ways the messengers of knowledge and freedom, are also messengers of dissension, of anger, of misrepresentation, of intemperate severity, of railing accusation; violating the sanctity of character and the decencies of life. Words, under the guidance of genius, which fears not to desecrate the highest boon of heaven, become moulded in a vicious literature, which, false in principle and false in purpose, wins the fancy, but corrupts the heart. Strongly, the apostle has said of the tongue, "therewith bless we God, even the Father; and therewith curse we men who are made after the similitude of God;" — but how often is the blessing merely in the word, while the cursing is perfect in the deed.

It is, however, necessary, while we condemn the faults of speech, that we do not restrain its honest freedom. Speech, possibly, may give pain to the present, and may not be all that the absent would desire. Still, it may be void of malice and of guilt, and be only what in justice should be spoken. Constantly our minds are passing judgments on every thing within the region of their inspection, and these judgments cannot always be in silence, and they ought not to be. Such judgments cannot in every instance be favorable, and to demand their suppression, when they are not, would be a rigor more intolerable than that of the Inquisition. This would utterly destroy all manly opinion, and all honest expression. Cant would take the place of candor, and dissimulation of frankness. True charity abhors results like these; for true charity lives with liberty, and liberty is but an empty name, when it is not the emanation of independent thought. Distinct opinion is the proper consequence of

intellectual independence ; clear expression is the proper consequence of distinct opinion ; and though these may occasionally bear hard on men in disapproval, yet, when integrity is in the motive, the privilege must not be resigned, and should not be condemned. The interests of truth and the dignity of intercourse, the faith of our social nature and the implied trust of our social relations, demand that under legitimate conditions, we shall give aloud the verdict which our reason dictates, whether to others it be pleasant or be painful. To this, character and talents must alike be subject. If the sentence be unfavorable ; if it be unjust as well as unfavorable ; if it depreciates our worth or underrates our ability ; conscious rectitude and conscious power may well sustain us against it ; while time and a more impartial tribunal will make manifest its error. If, however, the sentence be correct, if it censures that in which we merit blame, or if it reduces talents below the level, on which self-love or flattery had placed them ; we must charge our misfortune on the wrong by which we have deserved the censure, or on the delusion which we willingly encouraged. Humility then befits us more than anger ; for anger would be only the irritation of self-righteousness, or the writhing of wounded vanity. " 'T is conscience makes cowards of us all ;" and it is in that cowardice we shrink from the judgment of our neighbor, as well as from the judgment of our God ; at the same time, that neighbor should never forget, under what a responsibility he forms his judgment, and at what a risk, to his brother and to himself, he utters it. Yet, even, from the judgment of an enemy we can derive profit ; his censure may arouse us to correct the faults of our characters, and his criticism may direct us to remove deficiencies in our minds. The judgment of enemy or friend is of inestimable profit to us, if it breaks the spell of deceptions which misguide us ; if it lead us from misty shadows into open light ; if in connexion with upright intention, it stimulate us to be what we ought to be, and nourish within us the modest and magnanimous desire, to be estimated only for what we are.

The words, which do most evil, are seldom those which are spoken from reflection. Words are uttered in our daily intercourse, without scruple and even without consciousness, which sow the seeds of spiritual disease, and eat into the heart of our moral life. Out of all the forms of idle words, which constitute the base currency of social interchange, I will confine my observation to that which is most common — censorious

conversation. I place this among forms of idle words, not because no effect is produced, but because no effect is intended. The speakers are rarely serious for good or evil. They aim at no powerful impression on those who listen; they think of no permanent result; as unimportant is the whole matter to them, as if their ideas were as evanescent in the memory, as their words are on the air. As no good or evil is contemplated for the hearers, neither is there for the subject. So far from anticipating any influence on the person of whom they speak, they do not even suppose, that the person will ever know what they have said. And, if subsequently they should discover, that remarks made in reckless indifference did such a person a very grievous injury, their hearts would smite them with most unfeigned remorse. If that person should meet them, and repeat with literal exactness phrases, which played fluently on the lip, which came flippantly from the tongue, which seemed almost without a meaning and without a purpose, they would blush with deepest shame, to think they could have been so cruelly thoughtless, and they would startle with alarm at a pregnant force of import, which until now they had overlooked.

The insidious manner, in which censoriousness steals into conversation, admits no originality of thought in our statement, and no novelty of example in our illustration. In every age, in every country, in every class of life, the spirit is consistent with itself; and under all possible diversities of custom, its modes of operation are essentially alike. The censorious temper does not always know its own character, and after long habit becomes fatally blind to its inherent vice, until it arrives at last at that worst stage of a reprobate sense, the facility of transgression, and the loss of feeling. But in every gradation it is true to a law of delusion or disguise. It would not say even to itself what it is, and much less would it appear so to others. It seldom openly asserts; generally it cautiously insinuates. And the forms of its insinuation answer to all combinations of thought, and all combinations of language. I must omit from this comprehensive assertion such combinations, as imply directness and simplicity; for to avoid these, censoriousness modifies its phraseology with exhaustless ingenuity. You will hear a sentence commenced with warm praise of some absent person, and then tapered off with such diminishing of exception, that the eulogy has evaporated, while each qualification has left a portion of venom in its stead. Perhaps, the insinuation takes the form of

a question ; and then the question is so shaped, that it prompts curiosity, and requires an answer, which only the asker of it is expected to give. The reply is suggestive, and leads to comment ; corroboration follows, the interest deepens with participation, until there is nothing more to add. Frequently a conversation of this description originates with a moral reflection, and the philosophy of the text is maintained by references to such individuals, as may come into memory opportunely for the purpose. Invidious allusions are often connected with a seemingly profound compassison, a compassion, which mourns exceedingly that such sad concerns should exist in life, which does not pass by a wounded reputation, as the Priest and Levite did the wounded traveller, but puts a tongue in every gaping scar, that all may know its misery ; a compassion, which is so zealous to establish a cause for pity and for grief, that it enumerates minutely every circumstance, which can exaggerate a fault, and leaves no incident unnoted, which heightens a transgression. Then, there is the surprise, that it should be thus ; and the hands are lifted up in wonder ; and many impressive moralizings are uttered on the inconsistency of human nature, and the uncertainty of human action ; sometimes these things are said with a profession of interest for the subject, in a manner, however, which implies he does not deserve it. At other times, some real or supposed offender is mentioned with a positiveness, that admits no contradiction, and with a virtuous indignation, which implies how great is the depravity, that provokes it. Yet on closer inspection, we are often led to marvel what evidence justified this positiveness, or what crime could inflame such indignation. A mere whisper, a suspicion, a surmise, a vague report, you will hear reiterated with asseverations of doubt, that serve only to confirm it. I have heard such a matter as a fact, a person will say, but I don't believe it. But there is no sincerity in this tone ; so you take the fact, and you throw aside the disclaimer. "I cannot think it is true," he will add ; yet he seems not sorry, if it were ; and then again, "there must be something in it ; it is a matter too serious for invention ; it certainly came from respectable authority ; from individuals, I am told, who had the means of knowing, and are incapable of falsehood ; it has, moreover, gained credit from some whom it would be difficult to make the dupes of imposition." This seeming hesitation establishes others in conviction. It is needless to pursue this train of illustration to any greater length ;

enough has been said to call up recollections from experience, much more to the purpose.

They are rare persons and wise, who pass through society entirely free from those subtle sins of speech, on which I have thus remarked ; and they, who are clear from them, either by agency or participation, are indeed as happy as they are wise. But these sins are so covert, that we mark not their approach, and they are so common, that even their presence creates no alarm. Few of us escape them ; and there is so much of mutual implication, that there must be mutual tolerance. The invisible tempter is present in every group of idle talkers ; and gradually this deceiving spirit carries them along from nonsense to malice. They are not aware of the evil ; they suspect not the injury with which they have been ensnared ; they feel not the disease which it generates in their moral being. Keeping strictly within the circle of social decorum, they incur no penalty of social expulsion ; they are branded with no disgrace ; they are subjected to no infamy. They are consequently at ease, and ease becomes insensibility. And why this apathy, this deadness of the moral sense ? Is it, that there is nothing here, that should stir and sting it ? There is indeed sufficient, if men would but consider, to cover each of us with shame and confusion of face. Let us look fairly, then, at the bad qualities of mind and heart, which censorious speech implies, and the vital injuries, which it inflicts ; and whether we consider its origin or its effects, we shall cease to regard it otherwise than a heinous sin, a violation of principle, an opposition to the divine law of charity, the law of Christ, the law of God.

Censorious speech implies states of the mind and states of the heart, either latent or developed, which are ignoble or unworthy. If I should take a condition of mind, which seems scarcely to infer direct guilt, that of mere emptiness ; yet what can be more ignoble in a human, an immortal being, with so many claims of thought and duty, with all the solemn interests and mysteries that hedge in his life, than to have little for conversation but his neighbor's character, and to have little for that but censure ? But commonly the offence implies conditions of mind more positively wrong, than that of emptiness. Vanity is often present. When we set our neighbor at a disadvantage, there is an unexpressed distinction which exalts ourselves ; and in the silence of our mean exaltation, we take the Pharisee's place, and we conceive the Pharisee's prayer.

And when vanity is present, presumption, which is its associate folly, will not be absent. We speak in the levity of rebuke, because we forget, for the time, our own frailty; we do not call to mind the things in which we have offended, or we do not realize the danger to which temptation may at any moment expose us; we do not weigh the importance of different influences and circumstances, and thus silence inward flattery, by feeling how vastly the comparison might have been against us, had ours been another position. The envy of a jealous spirit, which is yet worse than vanity, not unfrequently assumes the words of plausible objection, or cautious condemnation. Envy, whose very nature is sinister, must naturally disguise itself; and as humility shrinks from the acknowledgment of its own goodness, so envy starts from the recognition of its own malice: it must of necessity be counterfeit; it must hide its pain, it must conceal its satisfaction, it dares not ask for sympathy in its grief, for its grief is against merit; it dares not ask for sympathy in its enjoyment, for its enjoyment is over the fallen. But to pass from motives, so insidious and so base as this, the tendency to censoriousness is not consistent with the free action of any noble sentiment. It implies—I will not say habitually, but for the instant—it implies a want of earnest feeling; for under the power of such feeling, none could trifle with brethren in what is dearest and most sacred. It implies a want of sympathetic imagination; for with such imagination, directed by moral principle, we should put ourselves in the place of our neighbor, and we should give unto him that, which we wish should be given unto us. It implies the want of generosity; for the generous are upright, and they are merciful; and the upright will be lenient to the absent, lest they should condemn the innocent; the merciful will be lenient to the absent, whether they are innocent or guilty; if innocent, because they have no means of defence, and if guilty, because they have the more need of forbearance. The censorious spirit manifests wretched and wrong states of heart; and it is from such wretched and wrong states of heart only, it can find a response or a sympathy. It has, therefore, a double degradation; it is not merely empty, vain, presumptuous, envious, unfeeling, unsympathizing, and ungenerous in itself, but a stimulant to such passions in others; their minister and their pander. Nor is it simply that the censorious spirit originates in evil qualities; it tends to destroy good ones. It violates simplicity, for it is ambiguous, sophistical,

double-minded. It breaks down the integrity of the conscience ; it turns thought aside from an honest, direct, and straight-forward course. It renders men uncandid, cowardly, and unjust. They shrink from the fair meaning of their words ; they fear to avow it ; they will not acknowledge it ; or in the pride of impenitent assertion, they use every art to maintain it. They shun the object of their censure, or they assume a false bearing towards him ; or they *hate* him as an enemy ; they deceive him, or they persecute him ; for the issue of injustice in word is injury in action ; and once to injure a man is a sure way to hate him. I do not say, that matters always go to this extreme ; but this is their direction, and we must not close our eyes to the catastrophe. Nor is the evil of a censorious spirit exhausted on itself, and on its objects ; it operates unfavorably on all that come into contact with it. The mere listeners to hard sayings, however impartial, or however prudent, do not escape unhurt. There is that which they cannot resist, which they cannot repel ; which, in fact, they cannot exclude from their attention ; that, which, true or false, they wish they had not heard ; their minds are disturbed, perplexed, unsettled ; painful associations are implanted in their memory, and the result in their experience is discomfort and distress. And these influences spread in their respective circles through the community, undermining trust, freedom, nature, and substituting, for the genial graces of a true heart, the cold formalities of custom, caution, and suspicion.

What can counteract these evils ? Not mere worldly prudence, not mere intellectual culture. It is true, that worldly prudence would constrain our speech ; but it would also constrain our sympathies. It is true, that mental culture might render us thoughtless of our neighbor's failings ; but it might also render us indifferent to our neighbor's welfare. It is true, that worldly prudence would lead us to mind our own affairs ; but also it might harden us to the afflictions of our brethren. It is true, that mental culture would exalt us above petty gossip ; it might also withdraw us from simple duties. This must not be. Our speech must not be restricted, but enlightened ; our sympathies must not be limited, but enlarged ; our own concerns must not be neglected, neither must our brother's need ; we must be above petty gossip, but yet we must have hearts awake to ordinary incidents and humble cares. The power, which we need, we shall find effectually in Christianity. We must recognise the Christian law ; we must cultivate the Christian senti-



ment. If we recognise the Christian law, we shall regard sin in its nature and in its essence, and we shall hate it, not according to its social penalties, but according to its inward wrong. From this point of view we shall discern, that scorn, and contempt, and imprisonment, and bonds, do not completely measure the guilt of transgression. We shall discern, that we may not incur these, yet be spiritually worse than many that endure them ; that the enactments of man may not have wherewith to charge us, and yet the perfect law of God find us deeply culpable ; we shall not be satisfied, that we are free from the disgrace of perjury, or the shame of theft ; we shall discern the wickedness of an evil temper and of a bitter tongue. We shall apprehend, how unholy, how ungodly, how anti-Christian, is a spirit void of charity, void of love ; and in comparison with many a hapless wretch, whom the world treads down with scorn, we shall abhor ourselves in dust and ashes. If with the recognition of the Christian law of duty, we cultivate the Christian sentiment of love, what we acknowledge to be true, and what we feel to be good, will both unite to exalt and purify our conversation. The mean passions, which generate ungente speech, still less that which is malignant and untrue, could not live in the nobleness of a Christian soul. In the glory of that light, which streams from the face of Jesus, vanity and envy must be extinguished ; in the flames of his disinterested affections, anger and hatred must be consumed. This noble Christian soul, enrobed in the modesty, the meekness, the mercy, and the purity of its master, has ideas, feelings, and interests, which comport not with the grovellings of evil words. In the degree, then, to which our souls are Christian, we shall forsake the beggarly elements, which form much of our idle or injurious conversation ; our intellects, accustomed to contemplate grand and solemn themes, will shrink from unworthy topics ; familiar in their meditations with ideas of the perfect and the eternal, they can have no sympathy with those vain babblings, in which valuable portions of life are not only wasted, but desecrated. Our feelings, softened and enlarged by the spirit of the gospel, will be at once mild and magnanimous ; in the plenitude of a Christlike bosom, no asperity will find nutriment to sustain it ; we shall be true to our friends, and we shall not be ungenerous to our enemies, if enemies we should have. And cheerfulness need not be banished ; we need not cloud the path of life, nor clothe our faces in gloom, nor rebuke the buoyancy of delight, nor silence the laugh of health,

nor walk our way in lamentation to the grave, as if happiness were sin, and misery were merit ; but in mirth we will not forget reverence, and in gayety we will not dishonor charity. With intellects thus uplifted, and feelings thus inspired, worthy interests will engage our thoughts and words. Why should our subjects of speech be so barren, that we must seek for malice to give them zest ? Why should we come together with such meagre fancies and such starved affections ? It need not be so ; it ought not to be so : if we are just to our natures, and true to our opportunities, it will not be so. 'I'o say nothing of those interests, which belong to the indulgence of refined pursuits, of uncorrupted tastes ; to say nothing of those which study opens to us in whatever the teachers of our race have written for our learning ; there are those which can engage us in every place, in every condition, and which, while they engage, will sanctify us ; there are those of nature, wherever the sky hangs over us, wherever earth has a leaf, or a flower, or a sound of gladness ; and for those we need but open senses, content, and health ; there are those of duty, of philanthropy, of brotherly kindness, and those meet us daily within the threshold, and in the most limited neighborhood, open a field for earnest thinking, and for active work.

This grand faculty of speech is sacred, and should not be profaned. It is that by which bards from the olden time have given out the sweet music which lay within their souls, the music which has an answer for ever in the bosom of humanity. It is that by which sages in every generation have taught wisdom to their race, and by which their race have marched along from stage to stage of progress. It is that by which the bold and the free spirits, who have a hearing through the world, have poured out the eloquence, which is the very life-breath of liberty ; by which thoughts of power have gone forth, as from tongues of fire, to smite the rod of the tyrant, and to melt the chains of the slave ; to vindicate the cause of the helpless and the wronged ; to cry in piercing tones for neglected sorrow, until humanity has been shaken from its apathy, and compelled to look with pity on the afflicted. Speech is sacred, for it resembles creation, which is the speech of God : " day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no place where their voice is not heard : their words are to the end of the world." The mind of God is syllabled in the sighs of the wind, in the noise of the ocean ; its letters are stars and suns. Speech

is sacred; for it is speech that makes known the inspiration, which God puts in the hearts of his chosen, and which comes to us from deserts and from caves, in the sublime burden of prophecy, and in the softer accents of sacred song. Speech is sacred; for by speech God through Christ has been revealed to the world, as he was never known before; and by speech the fulness of divine excellence, which dwelt in the perfect soul of Christ himself, is made manifest for our salvation. The multitudes wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth; let not bitterness come from the hearts of his disciples; let us with a loving docility be often in his presence, until we shall be filled with the abundance of his spirit, and out of that abundance speak.

H. G.

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#### PHILOSOPHY OF REFORMATION.

[From the Manuscripts of the late Rev. Noah Worcester, DD.]

As mankind while here on earth are forming their characters for a future state, and as "all have sinned and come short of the glory of God," reformation must be to us all a business of the highest importance. I use the word reformation in preference to repentance, as including all that is implied in a cordial and practical obedience to the precept "Cease to do evil, learn to do well," or in turning from the ways of sin by obedience to the self-denying precepts of the Messiah. But as reformation presupposes a sinful state, or evil practices to be corrected, to understand the philosophy of reformation it seems necessary, that we should have some correct views of the philosophy of disobedience, or how and why men transgress the laws of their Maker. Besides, as both disobedience and reformation result from, or consist in voluntary exercises of the mind, we are naturally led to inquire first of all respecting the philosophy of volition, — how volition is produced, why men choose this or that, and prefer one thing to another. And, as what we

call disposition and habit are justly regarded as having a powerful influence in forming the moral character, both in the course of disobedience and reformation, the philosophy of disposition and habit will require a distinct consideration. I shall therefore consider the subject under several distinct heads.

I. The philosophy of volition.

Volition is a word of the same meaning as choice. Volitions, then, are acts of the mind by which things are chosen or preferred. They may be called executive acts of the will or faculty of choosing. We may have different objects or different courses of conduct in view at the same time. More than one of them may appear in some respects agreeable or disagreeable; but all things considered, one is preferred to all the others. This preference is the choice or volition.

When we look back to the state of infancy, we may see reason to believe, that children are capable of volition before they are capable of moral agency. Volitions may therefore be divided into two classes, *animal* and *moral*; and the moral volitions may be subdivided into *virtuous* and *vicious*, or sinful and holy.

By animal volitions, I mean those which result from the animal properties of our nature, without any reference to a moral law, or to moral light respecting what is right and wrong. Children have animal senses, appetites, propensities, and passions, from which animal wants and desires originate,—and consequently volitions to supply those wants, or to gratify those desires. In the class of animal volitions I should include the volitions of children which are prior to moral agency; and it seems to me reasonable that very many of their volitions should be assigned to this class, after they become moral beings. That this is a correct view of the subject may be more evident, when we consider the additional pre-requisites to moral agency. But before I bring these to view I will quote a passage from the “Christian Spectator,” which contains ideas in accordance with what I have expressed;—

“But there are in the constitution of the mind certain properties, tendencies, or principles, which lie back of moral action, and belong to us simply as intellectual and sentient beings. Of this class are the natural appetites, as hunger and thirst, the social affections, as love of children, sensibility to the opinions of others, a feeling of injury when wronged, sympathy with

the sufferings of others, &c., and connected with them all is the desire of happiness, which belongs to us in common with all sentient beings. Now these, from the nature of the case, are neither sinful nor holy. They result from the inevitable condition of our being; and we can no more cease to be the subjects of them than we can cease to exist. All that is demanded by the claims of duty is to keep them in strict subjection to the rights of other beings, to our obligations to God and our fellow-men." — *Christian Spectator for June*, 1829, pp. 312, 313.

In view of the foregoing passage, may it not be justly said, so long and so far as our volitions result from these animal properties, uninfluenced by moral light or moral considerations, they are merely animal volitions — of the same nature as the properties from which they result, and neither sinful nor holy? These properties may be necessary to our existence as human beings, and may account for a vast portion of human volitions; yet something more is necessary to moral agency, or to render our volitions morally good or morally evil. We may therefore now bring to view the *prerequisites to moral volition*.

The animal properties, as we have seen, may rationally account for animal wants and the consequent animal volitions to supply those wants. It is also to be observed that these animal properties have an influence in exciting volitions of a moral nature. For they are properties which pertain to us through life; and, like the tongue and the hands, they are convertible to moral purposes, both good and evil. The animal volitions imply the faculties of *perception* and *memory*; but to render our actions of a moral nature we must possess reason and conscience, and more or less of moral light — a knowledge of moral right and wrong. Without these no human being can be a moral agent, and no volition or action can be morally good or morally evil.

For every moral evil there must be some cause, occasion, or reason of its occurrence. The same faculties and properties may be requisite in both cases. He who has a capacity to do right has a capacity to do wrong. It requires no higher faculties, nor more of moral light in the one case than in the other. If a person knows, what is morally right, he knows, what is morally wrong; and so far as he is ignorant in respect to moral light, he is incapable of doing either good or evil in a moral sense of the words.

Moral volitions are to us vastly more interesting than animal volitions; because, for the former we are accountable. Yet the philosophy of both classes of moral volitions seems to be very much enveloped in darkness or mystery.

2. Brief view of the philosophy of sinful volitions.

As reformation presupposes a state of disobedience, it may be of great use to have some correct views of the philosophy of the disobedient course; for this may help us to a clearer understanding of the philosophy of reformation. How then may we account for the fact, that children are so generally seen in the path of disobedience, as to need reformation?

Many have supposed that all sinful actions must proceed from a sinful cause — and that children sin because they come into the world with a sinful nature. But it appears to me, that the first of these hypotheses may be shown to be palpably false, — and the second as palpably unnecessary to account for the sinfulness of children.

That the first sin could not have had an evil cause, may be evident from the following considerations. It was either eternal, or it was not. If eternal, it had no cause. If not eternal, it must have had a good cause or none; or in other words, it must have been that of a good being; for no evil cause could precede the first sin. It is generally supposed that Adam, or the first of our race, was for a time a good man, and without sin. Let this supposed fact be admitted, and it will follow, that his first sin must have been the volition or act of one, who had up to that moment been a sinless and holy being. If then Adam could sin without a previous sinful nature, so it may have been with all his posterity.

Our first parents were liable to sin, because they possessed such animal properties and were placed in such a situation, as exposed them to a state of trial or temptation; and because they had the power to choose their own ways. It is surely reasonable to suppose that our first parents were possessed of all the animal properties which are common to their posterity. These properties are not in themselves evil. On the contrary, they are favors bestowed by a kind Father to render mankind capable of enjoyment and usefulness. Yet we know from our own experience that our senses, appetites, and passions, often expose us to temptation. It is so with the best of men through life. When they see objects to which they have no right, that excite their animal or fleshly desires, they are in a state of trial

or temptation. Their integrity and firmness are brought to the test in proportion as the prohibited objects appear to them desirable. Something was prohibited to our first parents which was seen by them as highly pleasing and desirable; and so strong were their appetites or propensities for what was forbidden, that they yielded to the temptation, and probably in the hope of impunity. By yielding to the craving of animal desires, instead of resisting the temptation and denying themselves, they became transgressors in the sight of the Lord. Had no desires been excited by beholding the forbidden objects, there would have been no temptation, and had they resisted the temptation instead of yielding to it, the volition so to do would have been a virtuous act of self-denial.

The posterity of Adam have all come into the world in a state of infancy. They have such animal properties as exposed Adam to temptation. For a considerable time prior to moral agency, they are in the habit of freely indulging these animal properties; and they become attached to many objects of gratification. It is very gradually that their moral faculties are developed, and that they obtain moral light, or ideas of right and wrong. Suppose that from its birth up to this day a child has had no ideas of moral right or wrong, — during all that time his actions have been unrestrained by conscience or moral light; and his appetites and passions have acquired considerable strength. To-day he is capable of receiving moral light in a few particular cases, and has a conscience to dictate what he should do, or forbear to do. But the way, which conscience dictates, is to him a way of self-denial. He now understands that something, which he wants to please his fancy or to gratify his appetite, belongs to another person, — and that it would be wrong for him to take it without leave. It is easy to see that this is a state of trial and temptation. To do right, he must cease to do as he had hitherto done. By fidelity and kindness on the part of his parents, in precept and example, the child may be easily induced to obey the dictates of conscience. But if he has in them the examples of disobedience, *his* appetites and *their* influence will probably occasion him to violate the dictates of conscience. If not led astray by his parents, he may be induced to violate their command by the influence of companions. By such influence children are often led astray, who have faithful parents.

Children have not only strong appetites and passions, but they have an imitative instinct by which they are induced to follow the examples of others. I indeed hope and believe that there is a greater amount of virtue in the world, and a much greater number of children who have become virtuous by being trained up in the way they should go, than many of my fellow Christians imagine. Still, when I take into view the animal properties of children, and the extent to which their moral education has been neglected, and the amount of evil instruction and example to which they are exposed, I think we may account for the fact, that so large a portion of children grow up in habits of vice and irreligion, and for the lamentable extent of human depravity in the world.

By proper attention to acknowledged facts, in regard to the prevalence of the vice of intemperance in the use of strong drink, we may find ample proof, that an hereditary sinful nature is not necessary to account for human transgressions.

Not more perhaps than one child in a hundred is so unfortunate as to be born with an appetite for strong drink. Yet by seeing others drink it, and hearing their praises of it, and their expressions of pleasure, the imitative instinct and the curiosity of children may be so excited, that they may be induced to taste a little mixed with water and sweetened. Such may be the first step. Then they may be encouraged to sip a little from the bottom of the glass, as often as they are present to see their parents or others drink. Thus an appetite for the liquor may be gradually formed, which shall be continually acquiring strength as the children advance in years, until they become habitual drunkards. The first time the child becomes drunk, he may be greatly alarmed, and may think he will be more careful in future. But the hour for drinking returns, and all his alarm perhaps may be soon drowned in the pleasures of tippling. A disposition and habit are thus formed, by which conscience is violated, and the wretch becomes bound over to perdition. Thus other vices may be commenced, and other dispositions and habits formed. Imprudence, or the want of care on the part of parents and others, may be the occasion of ruin to children who once bid fair to be useful members of society. How careful then should parents be to teach their children how to govern the appetites with which they are born; and to preserve them from forming others of a still more dangerous character. I say still more dangerous, because the acquired appetites



appear to have a greater power and control than any appetites which are purely natural or animal. Witness the appetite for strong drink and tobacco, which are certainly acquired.

3. The philosophy of reforming volitions.

No subject, it is believed, of equal importance to our race, has been involved in more obscurity and mystery than the one now proposed. This obscurity has probably resulted from the prevalent hypothesis relating to man's depravity, inability, and dependence. As I have known by experience many of the perplexities which result from the prevalent theories, and as I still feel my own liability to err, I shall aim to write with becoming candor and self-diffidence, and at the same time with perspicuity. My present views are in some respects different from any thing I have seen expressed in writing by others. I shall therefore aim to express them clearly, that others may have a fair opportunity to judge of their correctness. In what I shall say on reforming volitions, I shall write in the full belief of our entire dependence on God, and in the belief that "Man's capacity to obey is consistent with dependence, and commensurate with duty."

As all moral actions are voluntary, whether good or evil, reforming volitions are acts in which a transgressor, by choice, ceases to do evil, and learns to do well. These reforming acts imply a conviction that the way of disobedience is evil and dangerous, and that duty and safety demand a change of conduct and of character.

The habitual transgressor has difficulties to encounter and overcome in the work of reformation; but God endows him with the requisite aids of his Spirit, so as to leave him without excuse while he refuses to reform. Among the difficulties to be overcome by the adult transgressor, are what the apostle denominates the "lusts of the flesh" — the desires which result from the animal appetites, propensities, and passions. These have often acquired great strength by unlawful indulgence. To these we may add, as difficulties, acquired appetites, dispositions, and habits. The latter class of difficulties seem to be grafted on the former; and sometimes they are so powerful and inveterate, that they seem to render the sinner's condition nearly hopeless. But these difficulties must be overcome, or the sinner will never be reformed.

In speaking on this subject, I shall have particular reference

to those who live under the light of the Gospel. To enable the sinner to reform, God gives him the inestimable faculties of reason and conscience, to tell him what is right and what is wrong. The conscience is God's monitor and advocate, and the supreme faculty of the soul. In addition to reason and conscience he is endowed with the faculty of volition, to choose his own ways. This faculty enables him to obey the dictates of conscience, to stop in any course of vice, and to choose to do right.

A principal reason why sinners so often carelessly pursue a sinful course is this, they do not *attend* to the subject, or *reflect* on the evil and danger of their ways, and the obligations they are under to cease to do evil and learn to do well. As a remedy for this, God has endowed them with the faculties requisite for *attention* and *reflection*. Whether they will attend and reflect or not, depends on their own choice; for they have power to choose in this case as well as in others. They can choose so to attend to their situation, and so to reflect on the evil of their ways, that they could find no quiet to their consciences in the paths of disobedience.

God also furnishes adequate motives to induce any one to reform, who will duly attend to them, and suitably reflect on their importance. Any motive which God proposes may reasonably have influence on the human mind. Under the Mosaic dispensation, "good and evil" of a temporal nature were principally and abundantly employed, to induce men to cease to do evil and learn to do well. The following is an example. "If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured by the sword; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." But under the Gospel dispensation, which brings life and immortality to light, the motives employed are of far higher importance. For a future retribution is announced according to the deeds done in the body; on the one hand we have the promises of eternal life, and on the other the threatenings of everlasting death.

Now what more is needed as a capacity to obey, or as motives to obedience?

Some persons may here ask, Can the sinner, who is accustomed to do evil, choose a course for which he has no disposition? Can he choose to stop in a course of vice agreeable to his present disposition, until God shall give him a new disposi-

tion, from which the volition may flow? Is it not impossible for a man to choose a course or an act which is the reverse of his disposition?

In my reply to these queries, let it be understood, that nothing will be intended inconsistent with our entire dependence on God for ability to comply with his commands. By many it will probably be supposed that no satisfactory answer can be given to the queries proposed. For it seems to be a generally received opinion, that it is impossible for the sinner to choose to reform until he shall possess a new disposition. In reference to this hypothesis I would query, How was it possible for Adam and Eve to sin without a new disposition? And are we to suppose that God infused into them a sinful disposition to enable them to transgress, or to choose to disobey his commands? If not, then it is a possible thing for a person to choose contrary to his disposition, and contrary to all preceding volitions.

In whatever way or by whatever means a sinner, under the light of the Gospel, is awakened and caused to attend to his situation, and to reflect on his danger, he is then prepared to listen to the truths of the Gospel, and these are "quick and powerful"; "they are spirit and they are life"; and if duly attended to and received, they have a transforming influence, and operate as motives to obedience. Whether this awakening and attention is excited by an earthquake, a peal of thunder, an attack of some dangerous disease, a remarkable escape from sudden death, the decease of a relative or friend, a single sermon or by a "protracted meeting," the result may be the same.

I have not a doubt, that the exertions for a temperance reformation have occasioned thousands of real conversions, and genuine reformations in other respects; and the facts, which have occurred in the progress of those exertions, may show unquestionably that men have a capacity to choose a course of conduct, directly the reverse of their dispositions and habits. How many myriads of people, who had long been in the habit of what is called temperate drinking, and whose dispositions and habits had acquired great strength, have stopped short in this course, and adopted the principle of total abstinence! And how many thousands of habitual drunkards have followed this example, and this too against the strength of dispositions and habits which had been supposed invincible! Many, it is recorded of each of these classes, have given good evidence of a cordial reformation, and not only joined temperance socie-

ties but Christian churches. Who can pretend that vice has any stronger bands than those, which bind the intemperate man to his intoxicating liquors? Even the habit and disposition which are formed by the daily temperate drinker, are cords not easily broken. But in each class of cases the cords have been broken by vast numbers, by hundreds of thousands of the temperate drinkers; and not less than five thousand reformed drunkards have been reported in the State of New York, besides the many in other States. What a multitude of persons then, in a short time, have by efficacious volitions chosen a course directly contrary to their predominant habits and dispositions!

How then, let it be asked, how was reformation commenced and effected in these cases? Discontinuing the use of strong drink was the effect of choice, of a powerful volition of the mind. The means employed produced in the agents a conviction, that their former course was evil and dangerous; and by the influence of motives they were induced to deny their appetites and dispositions, and to choose the road of total abstinence. But did they, prior to their happy choice, get rid of their appetite and disposition for strong drink? No; they chose to deny that appetite and disposition by adopting the saving principle. Had the appetite and disposition been first removed, and an appetite to loathe the drink been given, there would have been no self-denial in the course they adopted. But now the measure of their self-denial is in proportion to the strength of their appetites. Their choice to reform must have been made by the power of the faculty of willing, and the dictates of conscience and reason, in view of the motives which were presented; and in opposition to the cravings of appetite which had reigned triumphant to the very time of the volition to reform,

If we have learned how men may cease to be drunkards, and how they may avoid forming this character, we may apply the principle and process to all other vices or courses of disobedience. *Total abstinence is the remedy of remedies*, the only one on which full reliance can be placed. Vicious dispositions are acquired by practice, as I hope to show in another place; and if drunkards can choose the path of total abstinence, so can gamblers, liars, thieves, highwaymen, and pirates, indeed every description of transgressors.

In learning to do evil or to do good, men are greatly influenced by associating together. They mutually encourage and

strengthen one another. Whether the cause be good or bad, the greater the number engaged in it, the stronger is the current, and the more powerful the results. This probably will not be denied by any observing and reflecting man.

Thousands of facts might be adduced to prove that men can choose contrary to their predominant and ruling disposition and habit. As the thief can forbear stealing, if he thinks he is liable to immediate detection; so the man of profane lips can govern his tongue in the presence of men eminent for sanctity; the most notorious liar can forbear lying and carefully speak the truth, if he is aware that he is suspected and watched; and even a gang of villains can suspend a projected crime, for which they have a powerful disposition, if they hear that a company of police officers are in pursuit of them. Besides, if men have power thus to choose and suspend acts of wickedness for an hour, a day, or a week, so they can choose to discontinue the same evil courses as long as they shall live. If they may be influenced to suspend acts of vice from an apprehension that they are watched by men, how powerful must be the influence, if they should be brought duly to consider, that "the eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding the evil and the good."

Some, however, may here object, that if men refrain from external acts of vice, and still retain the disposition or appetite, there is no virtue in such self-denial.

This objection involves a metaphysical hypothesis, which in my view is ill-founded, and highly delusive and dangerous; nor can I doubt that multitudes have been seduced by it to pursue the paths of vice, and to perpetrate atrocious crimes. Let me then observe

1. It tells the intemperate man that, unless he can first get rid of his desire or disposition to drink, it will be useless for him to abstain from the external act of drinking, and adopt the principle of total abstinence. But who does not know, that it is impossible for him immediately to free himself from his thirst for strong drink? that he cannot do this in any other way at all, but by forming a habit of abstaining from the use of such liquors, and that what is required of him is, to govern his appetite by denying himself and taking up the cross?

2. Let us apply the principle to the first temptation of our first parents. They saw with their eyes the forbidden fruit. It appeared to them pleasant and desirable; their natural appetite was excited, they felt the lust of the flesh, or their animal

nature, and a desire to taste was produced by the sight of their eyes. But they were forbidden to eat on the pain of death. They were therefore placed in a state of trial or temptation, by feeling a desire to eat that which God had forbidden. Now what counsel could Satan himself have given in that case worse than to suggest, that inasmuch as they felt the desire to taste the fruit, this was just as bad as to eat of it; and unless they could extirpate their animal appetite, it would be in vain for them to abstain from eating? The truth of the case was this, they were not at all blamable for having such an appetite, or feeling such a desire or propensity to eat. For they could not have been as God made them, without such an appetite, nor been tried or tempted. What was required of them was not to extirpate the appetite, but to govern it according to the prohibition of God, to deny themselves the gratification of eating, when they knew this to be the will of their Maker. Had they done this, they would have overcome in the hour of temptation, and have remained innocent. But by disregarding the dictates of conscience, and obeying a sensual appetite, they became sinners. How often do good men at the present day see things that excite their animal desires, which are to them forbidden fruit? When they are placed in such a situation, denying the calls of appetite is a proof of their uprightness and firmness, such proof as could not be given, had they been devoid of the appetites which are thus excited, and thus denied.

Another metaphysical objection may be expressed in the following manner; that there can be no virtue in abstaining from vicious acts, or in a volition to abstain, if we are influenced so to do by fear of punishment or hope of reward.

In reference to this objection, I would query, Was not the threatening of death to Adam intended by his Maker to operate as a motive to restrain him from eating the forbidden fruit? Are not good and evil, or promises of good and threatening of evil, constantly employed by God, both in the Old Testament and the New, as motives to obedience? If so, I would further ask, were God and his prophets under a mistake as to the motives which might reasonably influence the minds of men? Or can it be admitted, that they acted a delusive part in suggesting such motives? If not, is it not desirable, that public teachers should treat God's example with more deference than some have done? The motives to obedience are many, and some are of higher order than others. The capacities of men, too,

are various, and what may be perceived and felt as a motive by one, may not be so perceived and felt by a weaker brother. Is it not then wise in God to present different motives, and such as may be adapted to the several capacities of men? We may surely rejoice when our fellow-men are induced to abstain from vicious acts by any motives, which our Heavenly Father has seen fit to employ. Such a kind of disinterestedness, as is above all regard to threatenings of evil or promises of good, is very little spoken of in the Bible, and I suspect as little known by experience among men.

To obey conscience is to obey God; and to obey the dictates of conscience in denying our animal appetites, because this is required by God, and because he tells us that evil and danger are in the opposite course, and life and peace in the way of self-denial, is, if I mistake not, obedience to the Gospel. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and to depart from iniquity is understanding. Still it may be a truth, that perfect love casteth out fear, and disposes the mind highly enlightened and advanced, to pursue the path of obedience with little thought, either of personal punishment, or reward. A man of high spiritual attainments may with delight do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God, while in an exalted degree he may be influenced by such charity as "seeketh not her own."

Those who have been long in the belief, that volitions always proceed from a prior appetite, taste, or disposition, may be slow to admit that the habitual transgressor can exercise a virtuous volition, prior to his having a new and virtuous disposition. Some further remarks and inquiry may therefore be necessary.

1. It may be observed, that volitions are produced by the influence of motives; and the disposition is not the only source from which motives are furnished. In the case of the intemperate man, his appetite for ardent spirits, and his disposition to drink, present the fascinating motive of sensual pleasure or gratification, to induce him to pursue his course, and to refuse to adopt the principle of total abstinence; — this case might be deemed absolutely desperate, were there no other source of motives, — and had he not the power to choose in opposition to his predominant disposition, and prior to the formation of a new disposition. But conscience, in view of the Bible and the course of Providence, can furnish other motives so powerful as to throw the pleasures of drinking into the back ground, and

produce the volition for total abstinence. This has been proved in a multitude of cases. Why then should any one allow himself to reason against facts in support of a favorite hypothesis?

2. I would ask, Does not the Gospel require self-denial? And in what is self-denial to be found, but in a denial of some appetite or disposition, by which we have been led astray, or by which we are exposed to be led astray? Had we no such appetites or dispositions, we should have no occasion "to keep under the body" lest we should be cast away.

3. It is by voluntary acts of honest, resolute, and persevering self-denial that Christians overcome the lusts of the flesh, and form a self-denying disposition and character. The change is often expressed in the Scriptures by the phrase, turning unto God, or turning from evil ways; and sinners are called upon in this language, "Turn ye, turn ye, for why will ye die?" And what is turning but choosing to break off our sins by righteousness, and our iniquities, by obedience to the Gospel? It is by volition that men turn, and in no other manner.

It will probably be thought by many, that experience gives her voice against the hypothesis for which I plead; and that the satisfaction, the joy, and the zeal of many adult converts evince, that they had a new disposition as the source of their reforming volitions. Some may also go so far as to say, that their own experience is against the hypothesis; and that the joy and zeal, which they felt on being satisfied that they had become penitents, were as great, if not greater, than they have felt in any later period of their lives. To this reasoning I reply —

1. Having our volitions accordant with our predominant disposition, is not the only occasion of satisfaction, joy, and zeal; nor is it the best evidence of virtuous volitions, or a humble state of mind. To have our volitions accordant with the dictates of conscience may occasion as great inward satisfaction, as pure joy, and as fervent zeal, as to have them accordant with our disposition. What pleasures are more to be desired, than the pleasures of a good conscience in the sight of God? When a sinner has been not only awakened to a sense of the evil and danger of the course he had been pursuing, but has, in obedience to the dictates of conscience, chosen the path of self-denial, he must then have the pleasures of an approving conscience; and if in this situation he is favored with correct views of the forgiving mercy of God, as revealed by his Son, he will



see ground for joy and rejoicing in the Lord, and abundant reason for zeal in his service. But in how many thousands of cases are the volitions of men in accordance with their dispositions, while *both* are condemned by an enlightened conscience? Such is the case with sinners in general, and even with the drunkard, the gambler, and the robber. So also it was with the proud Pharisees, who trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised others. They were of a censorious disposition, and with this their volitions were accordant. Hence they chose to denounce the meek and humble Messiah, as a sinner, a sabbath-breaker, and a blasphemer.

2. "In keeping the commandments of God there is great reward;" and as self-denial is implied in obedience, there is a reward of happiness in acts of self-denial. It is true that both pleasure and pain are implied in self-denial. It is in some respects painful to deny the vicious appetite and disposition; but in other respects there is a pleasure, a real sweetness resulting from such acts of obedience to God and to conscience. One victory thus obtained over self affords ground for greater joy, than taking a city by storm, or the greatest conquests over external foes.

The belief, that a person cannot choose contrary to his disposition, and that the sinner must have a new disposition, formed by supernatural operations of the Spirit, before he can obey any divine command, seems to be completely adapted to paralyze the mind of the sinner, to make him think he has an ample excuse in respect to any reforming volition. The prodigal, when awakened to a sense of his guilt and danger, did not say I cannot choose the way of reformation, till God shall give me a new disposition from which the volition may flow; but this was his language; "I will arise, and go to my Father, and say to him, Father, I have sinned against Heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son, make me as one of thy hired servants." He arose and went according to this resolution; and he was graciously received, forgiven, and restored to favor. Let other transgressors, like the prodigal, come to themselves, resolve to forsake their ways of sin, and to return to God, and, like him, they will find this the way of life and peace.

In calling sinners to reformation, the inspired teachers adopted different forms of speech. Thus says Isaiah, "Cease to do evil; learn to do well." Ezekiel says, "Make you a new

heart, and a new spirit." "Turn ye, turn ye, for why will ye die?" Peter says, "Repent and be converted." James says, "Humble yourselves." The Messiah not only called on men to repent, but to deny themselves, take up the cross, and follow him. A change of character and conduct is implied in each of these forms. To cease to do evil and learn to do well, is equivalent to making a new heart.

It is worthy of notice, that the inspired teachers did not accompany their calls to reformation with any remarks implying that they were aware, that it was impossible for the sinner to obey the call, until God should exercise his sovereignty in granting special influences of his Spirit, and give them a new disposition. Is it not then wonderful, that teachers in modern times should have adopted a practice, for which they have no example in the Scriptures, and which tends directly to lead the sinner to suppose, that he has a good excuse for delay, till he shall receive the necessary influences?

Another circumstance also demands attention. At the present day, preachers are in the habit of ascribing awakenings and reformations to supernatural influences of the Spirit, which are granted in a sovereign manner to one person, or one people, and denied to others; yet I can find no example for this in the Bible. The reformation at Nineveh is mentioned in the Old Testament; it is also mentioned by the Messiah, as recorded by Matthew. But in no instance is it ascribed to special influences of the Spirit. The preaching of Jonah is the cause to which Christ ascribed the event. He thus said to his hearers, "The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation and condemn it; for they repented at the preaching of Jonas, and behold a greater than Jonas is here." To perceive any force in this language, we must suppose that the Jews, to whom Jesus preached, had greater advantages than the Ninevites. But if special influences of the Spirit are in all cases necessary to repentance, and if these were granted to the Ninevites and denied to the Jews, the advantages of the Ninevites were greater than those of the Jews, notwithstanding the latter had a preacher greater than Jonas.

A similar objection to ascribing reformations to special influences may be found in the following language of Christ; "Wo unto thee Chorazin, wo unto thee Bethsaida, for if the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and

ashes. From this passage, the continuance of the people of Tyre and Sidon in a state of impenitency is surely ascribed to other causes than the want of special influences, of the Spirit. For it does not appear that these were granted to Tyre and Sidon, any more than to Chorazin and Bethsaida; yet we are assured by Christ, that had his mighty works been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago; and not, like the Jews of whom he spake, have resisted such evidence and abused such means of light and reformation.

It may also be observed that, after the resurrection of our Lord, there were great awakenings at Jerusalem under the preaching of the apostles; but in no instance were these ascribed to special influences of the Spirit on the hearts or minds of the converts. Miracles were indeed wrought at that period, in the name of the Lord Jesus, to convince the spectators that he was indeed the Messiah, and that he, who had been crucified by the influence of the Jews, had been raised from the dead by the power of God. But these miracles were wrought on the bodies of men, and not in the hearts of the converts. They were well adapted to awaken attention, and to lead the people to repent of their wickedness in crucifying the Lord of glory, and such was their effect on the minds of thousands, when accompanied with the truths declared by the apostles.

The language of Christ respecting his miracles, or the mighty works which had been done in Chorazin and Bethsaida, clearly implies, that such miracles were highly adapted to awaken and reform an unprejudiced people, and to dispose them to listen to divine instructions; and when similar miracles were wrought in his name by the apostles, they appear to have had their proper effect on the minds of many. Uncommon occurrences, though not miraculous, often have a similar effect, to rouse attention, excite concern on account of guilt and danger, and open the minds of men to a candid hearing and reception of divine truths. Due attention, reflection, and inquiry must naturally excite reforming volitions.

Let it, however, be understood, that I do not deny the agency of the Divine Spirit in calling sinners to repentance. It is only in regard to the doctrine of *special* influences that I express my dissent. This I have done because, after much inquiry, I could not find that doctrine stated in the Scriptures; nor in any instance of reformation recorded in the Scriptures, could I find such occurrences ascribed to special influences, in

any other sense, than as external miracles were sometimes employed as means of awakening attention, and affording conviction of the truth of important facts. Being convinced of what I believe to have been my former error on this point, I now feel no difficulty in exhorting sinners to immediate reformation in the very forms of speech adopted by the inspired teachers, without the least intimation, that special influences of the Spirit are essential to enable them to do what God requires. In this view of the matter, the Gospel appears consistent with itself, a gospel indeed, and equally simple is the path of duty both to the preacher and the hearer. Just as a kind parent calls on his disobedient and wandering children, to abandon their ways of vice and learn to do well, to do what they know is right, so God calls on his disobedient children. If a good parent has a prodigal son, in calling him to reformation, he does not teach him that he cannot cease his tippling and gambling, unless God shall first take away his disposition for such vices, and give a new disposition by supernatural influences of his Spirit; so God and his inspired teachers were equally silent in regard to any such intimations. Dependence on God may be as clearly taught and as deeply felt, without the doctrine of supernatural influences as with it. The doctrine, that in God we live, move, and have our being, and that all our sufficiency is from him, is a doctrine which is applicable to all our race, and as applicable in things secular as in things spiritual; and when properly understood it is adapted at once to humble and encourage; for if it implies that, while our sufficiency is of God, he grants a sufficiency commensurate with duty, not that he withholds sufficiency for the duties he requires, nor that he arbitrarily requires the same duty of all, while he grants sufficiency to but a part of his children. To whomsoever much is given, of him is much required, and of each is required according to the ability which is granted by God.

Suppose that, in the days of Pharaoh, straw was an essential ingredient for making the brick which he demanded of the men of Israel, that all the straw was in the hands of the king, that he required of each of the laborers a certain number of brick daily, while to some of them he granted the necessary straw, and to others this was denied: What would have been thought of the equity of the monarch?

Or suppose that all the men of Israel had by disobedience forfeited the king's favor, and exposed themselves to the penal-

ty of death ; that under the pretext of great clemency to these offenders he made them an offer of pardon, on condition that they should severally make for him a certain number of brick every day for six months, that they had all means and ability to comply, excepting the necessary straw, which was all wholly in the king's hands, and that to some he gave a full supply, while from others he wholly withheld the essential aid, without any other reason than that such was his sovereign pleasure : Who could have seen either mercy or equity in such a proceeding ? Could those from whom the essential aid was denied be reasonably punished for non-compliance with the proposed offer ? Would not the offer to them on such impossible conditions be rather an insult than act of mercy ?

Shall we then dare to ascribe to God such a policy, and still call the statement of it "a doctrine of grace ?" And is it not amazing, that such a doctrine should have been deemed in the highest degree honorable to God ?

To my views of the sinner's capacity to obey, some may be disposed to make such objections as the following.

1. That they tend to excite in the sinner a feeling of independence and sufficiency.

But how can this be, while they are taught, that all their sufficiency is of God, and daily granted according to his requirements ? And why is there not equal ground for this feeling on the hypothesis, that special influences are actually given ?

2. It may be objected, that on my hypothesis, those who obey the Gospel make themselves to differ from the disobedient ; but on the other hypothesis, it is God who makes the obedient to differ from others.

I would here ask, "In what does the difference here referred to consist ? Does it not consist in obedience on the one hand, and disobedience on the other ? Most certainly it does. I have then further to ask, Does the objection mean, that God *repents* and *obeys* for the reforming sinner ? If not, there surely is a sense, an important sense, in which the two classes of men make themselves to differ from each other. On the ground of this distinction their future rewards will be different ; and on this ground we read ; "Blessed are they that *do* his commandments." "But indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish on every soul that *doeth* evil." "For every man shall be rewarded according to his works."

Still it is very true, that in the distribution of talents and priv-

ileges in the present world, God often makes one to differ from another ; but he applies a principle of equality, which covers the whole ground, as his requirements are in exact proportion to what each individual receives. No man has anything but what he receives, and no one is responsible for more than he receives. He who has ten talents, is accountable for ten ; and he who has but one is accountable for one, and no more.

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### INSPIRATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

No one, who is accustomed to regard with much attention the history and tendencies of religious opinion, can fail of being convinced, that the question indicated above is soon to become the most absorbing question of Christian theology. The minds of men are in that position in reference to this subject, which cannot long be maintained. They must move one way or the other. They must attain to some sort of consistency, either by believing less, or by believing more. The authority of the Scriptures, and especially those of the Old Testament, must either become higher and stronger, or be reduced almost to nothing. It is vain to imagine that, with the present secret or open skepticism, or at least vague and unsettled notions, with which they are regarded, even by many who are defenders of a special revelation, they can be read and taught in our churches, schools, and families, as books *sui generis*, so as to command much of real reverence for themselves.

For ourselves, we are at no loss in deciding as to which direction opinions will ultimately tend. We are satisfied that the Scriptures are to open out their revelations with new light and beauty upon the human mind. Meanwhile, we think it time to raise the question, whether liberal Christians, in avoiding the blind dogmatism of the defenders of Calvinistic theories, the pharisaical tenacity with which they cling to the mere letter, unmindful of the spirit that giveth life, the absurd and fantastic criticism, by which the letter is made to bend and accommodate itself to newly discovered facts in natural or

moral science, have not been betrayed into the opposite error, and made concessions to an unbelieving age, which truth cannot warrant nor defend. So at least we think, and we bespeak the attention of candid and thoughtful men to the discussion of this subject ; albeit we may take positions which at first they may not be disposed to allow.

We defend the doctrine of *the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures*, and we think we can show to the reader, if he will follow us, not only that this theory is rational in itself, but that it is the only theory which, for any practical purpose, can preserve the authority of the Scriptures from total subversion. And here, did we aim at completeness in the argument, it would be necessary to define at length what we mean by plenary inspiration, and what by the Scriptures. We understand plenary inspiration to mean, that the whole Scriptures, to which these words apply, are properly the word of God, and not of man ; that they have no admixture of human error ; that they are as fully and truly the expression of the Divine Mind, as a human composition is the expression of the human mind that produced it.

To the question, what are "the Scriptures" of which we understand such inspiration to be predicated, a full answer cannot be given, without going into the whole subject of the canon to an extent which is here impossible. We suppose that every enlightened mind, in the perusal of the Bible, observes a distinction, more or less clearly apprehended, in the character of different portions. Neither the Jew nor the Christian regards with the same feelings all the books of the Old Testament. Is there any rule to make the distinction clear and palpable ? Most certainly there is — one deducible from the language of the Saviour. When he refers in general to such of the Old Testament Scriptures, as he regards of divine authority, he quotes them as "the law," referring not specifically to the books of Moses, but the whole Divine record. (See John x. 34.) When he refers to those records, naming specific portions, he calls them "the law and the prophets," or "the law, the prophets, and the psalms." (Luke xxiv. 44.) These include the Mosaic books, the prophetic, and the psalms of David. These alone are quoted as authority in the New Testament, and these only should we defend as properly "the word of God," so far as relates to the elder Scriptures.

We understand a like distinction to hold, in respect to the New Testament, between the Gospels and the Epistles. We suppose every Christian makes it more or less clearly in his own mind ; and we are quite sure it was made by the primitive Church, which regarded the Gospels as of pre-eminent authority. A distinction is palpable on a mere casual perusal of the books themselves. The Gospels embody the life and doctrines of the Saviour, and are addressed to the Christian Church, in all ages. The Epistles are addressed to particular Churches, to meet special cases and exigencies which arose and were soon forgotten. They are of high authority, from the known character and opportunities of the writers. We regard those writers with that reverence and deference that we should all the sayings and doings of those, who had been the Lord's personal followers, or received supernatural light. But their illumination was general. It was not for the special end of writing letters to those particular Churches. But the obvious design of the Gospels is different. Their style is different ; the persons of the writers are lost sight of altogether. There is not, from beginning to end, the manifestation of individual feeling or opinion, of wonder, astonishment, or any human passion, such as breaks forth in the writings of Paul. Things of the most awful and overwhelming import are set forth with almost entire unconsciousness on the part of the writers. They are written for the whole Church, and for all times ; not for persons or particular bodies of men. For whoever might have been the "excellent Theophilus," to whom Luke inscribes his narrative, he appears no where in the body of his writing, which plainly was not designed for private use. Moreover, the Gospels were constantly appealed to by the earliest Christian writers, as of full and pre-eminent authority. But we cannot find among the numerous quotations of Lardner, from the writers of the first two centuries, that the terms "sacred scriptures" are more than once applied to the Epistles, and rarely if ever can we find that they are named as properly "the word of God."

We can have no doubt as to the character of the Apocalypse, if we allow its own claims to inspiration. It purports to be a prophetic book, written under Divine illumination, and as such is widely distinguishable from all human compositions ; or else it is a fancy-sketch, and no more sacred than the dreams of any uninspired man.



We have made this discrimination merely for the purpose of definition. We beg the reader to take note, that we are not *arguing* the question of the canon. We are about to assert an inspiration for "the Scriptures," which we should not claim for the Epistles of the New Testament, nor for any portion of the Old, but "the law, the prophets, and the psalms;" and it was incumbent upon us, for the sake of perspicuity, to define the terms. The argument has reference to the Scriptures as thus distinguished.

I. Look first at the historical argument, or the argument from authority. And here let us make clear and prominent the testimony of the Saviour himself. All the ingenuity of learning and criticism fail to show that Christ, fairly interpreted, does not quote the elder Scriptures as Divine authority—as, in the full sense of the phrase, the word of God. (Mark vii. 11, 13.) "Ye say, If a man shall say to his father or his mother, corban—that is to say, a gift, whatever of mine shall profit thee, he shall not thenceforth do aught for his father or mother, making **THE WORD OF GOD** of none effect, through your tradition." The Mosaic record is here called the word of God. But if any one should be disposed to restrict the phrase to this particular command which Moses delivered, then let him examine the following passage. (John x. 34.) When the Jews were about to stone Jesus, because he claimed oneness with his Father, he argued in reply—"Is it not written in *your law*, I said ye are gods? If he called them gods, to whom *the word of God* came, and the Scripture cannot be broken." The text here quoted as from the law is from the Psalms, showing that this term sometimes covered the whole inspired record. Observe here, first, that "the word of God" is a phrase applied summarily to the Divine oracles given to the Jews, and secondly, they are called the Scripture that cannot be broken. The stereotyped criticism that Christ uses with the Jews, the *ad hominem* argument, cannot at least be applied here. His reasoning evidently is—"If he called them gods to whom the word of God came—and surely he did call them so, for thus read the Scriptures, and they cannot be broken, their authority cannot be impeached or set aside."—Nothing less than their infallible authority warrants such language as this. (Mat. v. 17, 19.) "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.

For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." Words could not be more explicit or emphatic in asserting the Divine authority of these writings, from the least things to the greatest. The term law again, in the latter clause of this passage, evidently includes the whole inspired record — whether historical or prophetic.

In those passages where Christ is said to expound the law and the prophets — or the law, the prophets, and the psalms — those books are clearly quoted as of Divine authorship. "Beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself." "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things might be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and the psalms concerning me. Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures." (Luke xxiv. 27, 44, 45.) We presume no one will assert, that the Scriptures were quoted on this occasion by "way of accommodation." The writings, quoted in all the passages now referred to, are appealed to as writings of a peculiar nature, and standing forth in sacred distinction among all the literature of the Jews.

Matt. xxii. 41, 43 : "While the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them saying, What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he? They say unto him, the son of David. He said unto them, how then doth David by the Spirit call him Lord?" The parallel text in Mark renders the passage entirely unequivocal. "David himself said by the Holy Ghost." The testimony is direct and full to the inspiration of David, or rather to the whole book of Psalms, for under the term "David" the Jews included that whole collection of sacred poetry.

What then do we find? Not only that portions of books are quoted as the utterance of Divine inspiration, but that these writings collectively are named and quoted as of Divine authorship. They are the Scriptures — the word of God — the Law — the Scriptures that cannot be broken — Scriptures which were uttered by the Spirit or by the Holy Ghost. The plea, that this is popular language, is by no means available. Christ asserts in his own language, and from his own lofty position, the absolute sacredness of the records, to which he

makes appeal, and which he so expounds to his disciples as to make their hearts burn within them. No distinction is made in this respect between different portions of the sacred writings. They are quoted on the other hand, so as to preclude any such distinction — a distinction which, if admitted one moment, would introduce uncertainty and confusion, and render the word of God indeed of none effect.

Turn next to the testimony of the Apostles ; and let the object for which we quote them be fully understood. We are not travelling the round of that vicious circle, in which the authorities of the Old and of the New Testaments are made mutually to establish each other. We are arguing, we suppose, with Christians, and not with infidels ; and whatever be our theories of inspiration, the Apostles, from their position and character, will be regarded by those to whom this argument is addressed, as commanding authority upon this subject ; though we confess we should not employ this argument with an unbeliever.

Paul's language is strong and emphatic, and goes to the full inspiration of the record. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God," or in the strong idiomatic expression of the original, "all Scripture is God-breathed." We see not what Le Clerc gains by changing the position of the verb. He renders, "All Scripture, *which* is given by inspiration of God, is profitable," &c. This even would imply that *some* Scripture was thus given, and was broadly distinguished from all other Scriptures. But the verse thus rendered asserts a mere truism, and the preceding text shows that the rendering is wrong. Paul says to Timothy, "And thou from a child hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation. All Scripture (i. e. all which he had just referred to, and called holy) is God-breathed : " the result of the Divine soul, passing through the mind of the writer into his writing, and therefore throughout the utterance of the Divine mind. Any other meaning, than this obvious one, would make the Apostle use language to very little purpose. (2 Tim. iii. 16.)

The testimony of the author of the second epistle of Peter, is quite as full and emphatic as that of Paul. Prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. The word rendered moved, (*περιεμενοι*), means carried away.

The idea plainly is their own will was lost or taken from them. The Spirit of God possessed their faculties and employed them for its own purposes, so that no human imperfection infected the current of the Divine Mind that flowed through them. Nothing less than plenary inspiration satisfies such language. We are aware that the authorship of this epistle is very doubtful, but whether written by Peter or not, it reflects the opinions of the early disciples.

Turn next to the testimony of the primitive Church. And here we might fill pages of quotations from the early fathers, but it will serve our purpose to exhibit a specimen merely, referring to Lardner for numerous other passages to the same purpose.

Ignatius says, (A. D. 107,) "Fleeing to the Gospel as the flesh of Jesus, and to the Apostles as the presbytery of the Church." Grabe and Mill understand by "the gospel" the book or volume of the gospels which was generally thus designated by the early fathers; and by "the Apostles" the book or volume of their Epistles. Le Clerc and Lardner both assent to the truth of this, and the former comments upon the passage, thus; "What Ignatius intends, is this — that in order to understand the will of God, he fled to the Gospels, which he believed no less than if Christ himself in the flesh, that is in the condition he was in on the earth, present and still living among men, delivered with his own mouth those discourses which are contained in the Gospels: as also he fled to the writings of the Apostles, whom he esteemed as the presbytery of the whole Christian Church, under Christ, the universal Bishop, which (presbytery) taught all Christian societies what they ought to believe." Here the high and plenary authority of the Gospels, and the distinction between them and the Epistles, are made clear and striking.\*

Dyonisius of Corinth, (A. D. 172,) has this remarkable passage; "Nor can there be fewer Gospels than these. For as there are four regions of the world in which we live, and four catholic spirits, and the Church is spread over all the earth, and the Gospel is the pillar and foundation of the Church and the spirit of life, in like manner was it fit it should have four pillars, breathing on all sides incorruption, and refreshing mankind. Whence it is manifest that the

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\* Lardner, vol. i., p. 322, quarto edition.

Word, the former of all things, who sits upon the cherubim, having appeared to men, has given us a Gospel of a four-fold character, but joined in one spirit.”\*

Theophilus, (A. D. 181.) “These things the Holy Scriptures teach us, and all who were moved by the Holy Spirit, among whom John says ; ‘In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God.’ Again ; “Concerning the righteousness which the law teaches, the like things are to be found in the prophets and the Gospels, because that all being inspired spoke by one and the same Spirit of God.”†

Origen, (A. D. 230,) “That our religion teaches us to seek after wisdom, shall be shown both out of the ancient Jewish Scriptures, which we also use, and out of those written since Jesus, which are believed in the churches to be divine.”

We may add in general, that we find the New Testament writings all along, from their first reception in the churches, spoken of as the “Divine Scriptures,” the “sacred fountain,” “the evangelical voice,” “the word of God.” And Origen says, as quoted by Eusebius, “The four Gospels alone are received without dispute by the whole church of God under heaven.”‡

Such is the whole current of opinion in the primitive Church. The New Testament, and especially the Gospels, along with the Old Testament, were received fully and unreservedly as the word of God. Not a dissenting voice against the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures comes up from the whole company of Christian believers. We have heard Origen, and writers of the Alexandrian school, quoted to establish a contrary position ; but the citations have sole reference to the literal or historical sense, which these writers are well known to have regarded as the shadow of one which was higher and spiritual. They did not believe the less in its plenary inspiration, because they admitted the letter in some instances to have no historical basis. The testimony begins with the writers of the Old Testament, who assert their own inspiration by a “thus saith the Lord”—“the word of the Lord came unto me saying.” The Saviour’s testimony is clear and positive. His Apostles, so far as they

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\* Lardner, vol. i., pp. 365, 366. † Ib. pp. 384, 389. ‡ Ib. chap. xxviii.

testify at all, are unequivocal to the same doctrine. The same current of opinion sweeps through the whole Church, with singular uniformity, down to the days of the Reformation.

II. Let us now see what are the results, logical and practical, when this doctrine is departed from. We take this as a second ground of argument — a kind of moral *reductio ad absurdum*. We apprehend that this view of the revelations of God must be taken, or else we must take one from which are subverted all the high purposes of a revelation. As soon as we leave the high and firm ground which hath now been described — this rock of the ages — we find ourselves afloat in a sea of uncertainty, skepticism, and unbelief. We think we may show that henceforth there is no land which the eye can discover, except the land that reposes dimly in the shadow of death.

Let us endeavor to trace the progress of opinion from the first partial eclipse of Divine truth to the point of total darkness. At the period of the Reformation, Luther placed the first limit upon the primitive doctrine, and contended that the *matter* only of the Bible was of Divine origin — the *composition* was human. The ideas are the result of inspiration, the writers clothed them in language entirely their own. This is the origin of the distinction between general and verbal inspiration, about which we hear so much at the present day.

Well do Ernesti and other writers say, in opposition to this, that it is difficult to abstract an inspiration of ideas from an inspiration of language. We think it not only difficult, but impossible. We think those, who contend for this distinction, would find themselves hard pressed to tell precisely what they mean. How, we ask, could ideas flow from one mind into another, and from the mind of God into the mind of man, except through the forms of language? The supposition, that thought can be bodied forth from mind to mind, except through those forms and images that clothe and represent it, is altogether irrational and absurd. There cannot be such a thing as inspiration of thought without an inspiration of language, until a thing can be signified without signs. The Divine wisdom could not come down into human affairs, without taking the forms of speech, any more than the Divine energies could flow out into the natural world, without taking the forms of matter. Language has been beautifully defined

as thought crystalized. Thought cannot be communicated before it is crystalized—nay, it cannot exist as thought, except in clear and definite forms. Moreover, the forms of speech always correspond to the nature of the thought. Except when men attempt to ape something foreign to their nature, their language is always the living garment of the soul. The mind, according to its nature and condition, will take its appropriate forms of manifestation. Changes of style always pre-suppose a corresponding change in modes and habits of thinking, and hence the style of writing in any age reflects truly the mind of the age itself. The mind of God, therefore, cannot be revealed any farther than it clothes itself in a language of its own, and takes its own forms of manifestation. There must be an inspiration of language, as well as of ideas, *at least to the mind of the writer*, else he never could receive the ideas themselves. Thus the mind of God was revealed to Peter by an assemblage of symbols of its own selection. The only question that can be raised is, whether the writer, having thus received the Divine Mind in its own Divine language, would be left finite, ignorant, and erring, to blunder forth the revelation, infected with all the imperfections of his own understanding. It would be impossible, in the nature of things, for a revelation of infinite truth to be made thus to the human race. Outward facts might thus be communicated, but a system of eternal and living truth never could be. Coming thus from the individual, it would not be a revelation from God : it would be his own imperfect and erring notions of what that revelation was, told in his own imperfect and fallible way. It would be *his* revelation, not that of the infinite Reason. We might get so much of truth as he happened to receive, if we knew which it was, and there we must rest forever. We never could rise above his level. Christianity thus communicated would not be a system for the ever progressive soul of man. It cannot be a revelation to us, answering to our erring and ignorant minds the purposes of a revelation, unless its truths flow out and become embodied in the ultimate forms of speech ; unless fixed in those forms, it reflect the pure truths of the omniscient Mind. As well might we conceive that God would have created his universe, by exhibiting to man a plan of its magnificent parts, and its infinite variety of scenery, and then leaving the frail

and weak mortal to carry out and execute his great idea. The result would have been, not this glorious universe, but a manufactory or a corn-mill ! So in revealing a system of everlasting truth, we might as reasonably imagine that he would give the ideas to some finite and erring mind, and leave that mind to give them a living manifestation. We should have had, not a Bible, which we may learn forever, but some book which would compare with that volume, as the machine-shop compares with the living system of nature, fresh from the hand of nature's God.

The successors of Luther did not stop here. It next became a question, whether all *the matter* of the Bible was of Divine inspiration. "The progress of natural philosophy made it impossible, that anything but blind superstition should assert this character for all physical facts,"\* and so the natural philosophy of the Bible was excluded from the sphere of inspiration.

Under this head comes a class of apologies for the Bible, such as these ; — that it was not designed to teach astronomy or philosophy, or to decide the merits of the Copernican system. The idea is, that the writers on these subjects, being left to their own ignorance, have introduced their crude notions and errors, and mixed them up with the truths of revelation. Here is assumed, what we confidently deny to be true, that there is no intimate and necessary connexion between nature and religion. What is nature ? It is the symbol of God's truth ; its language as solemn and unerring as that of the Bible. It is the bright page that unfolds God's goodness, wisdom, and glory. "The invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." In the degree that nature is dark, or its laws falsely apprehended, religion becomes technical, arbitrary, and absurd. For this very reason, man needed a new revelation, to pour a new light upon nature, and teach him anew the meaning and the beauty of outward things. Nature, when rightly understood, reveals truly the attributes of God ; when darkened or misapprehended, those attributes are shad-

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\* See the "History of the Rise and Early Progress of Christianity," by Rev. S. Hinds, Oxford : Appendix, vol. ii.



owed, or falsely seen. Do not these critics, then, see the utter absurdity of supposing, that God would give to man a revelation, infected with blunders and falsehoods pertaining to one essential department of religion ; a revelation in which the sublimest theme of human contemplation — that of the creation of this glorious universe — was turned into darkness, fable, and nonsense ? The only reasonable inference would be, either that this is not a revelation, which we had first taken to be one, or that this part of it had been wrongly interpreted.

But, says the writer already referred to, “one portion of the matter of the Bible — its natural philosophy — having been once excluded, from the sphere of inspiration, it has been justly contended, that similar difficulties are obviated by excluding *profane history*, and that there is no more ground for maintaining the inspiration of the writers in the one case than the other.”

Surely he argues rightly. But here we would ask, what is the precise distinction between sacred and profane history ? There is an important sense in which all history is sacred, since all human events are under the control of Providence, and are guided by Him to their final consummation. It would require more knowledge than any critic hath yet possessed, to enable him to sit down with his Bible, and running over its historical parts, say, this event stands connected with the plan of Providence as here revealed ; that event has no such connexion. Hence this work of limitation cannot stop here ; so that the writer very consistently goes on, “It may fairly be questioned whether even the *sacred history* is inspired. For although wherein a point of faith or practice is involved in the historical record, inspiration must be supposed, (else the application of the record, as an infallible rule, must be abandoned,) yet where this is not the case, there seems to be no necessity for supposing inspiration ; and by not supposing it, several difficulties in the attempt to harmonize the sacred historians are removed.”

Difficulties removed ! We should be glad to see this canon of criticism applied. In the first place, the Pentateuch goes in one mass, except some points of “faith and practice,” which we must sift out for ourselves ; but which, on examination, we shall generally find woven into a texture, which is seamless throughout. Next go the historical parts of the psalms and the prophets, and these constitute a very

large portion of those books. Then follow the general framework and substance of the Gospels, for these, in the main, are historical. Again, there are portions, which are partly historical and partly dialectical, such as the introduction to John's Gospel, and we must be ever in doubt as to which class they belong. We imagine the expression of anxiety, if not despair, that must sit upon the countenance of the common reader of the Bible, with this rule of criticism before him, as he attempts to pick out the specks of gold from the heaps of sand, along with which it hath drifted down from the heights above. Might it not be suggested to these critics, that what is excluded under the name of history, may contain, *as history*, the most important lessons, and even the highest doctrines of faith? The resurrection of Christ is an event purely historical — that fundamental fact of the Christian religion. And it may be that other events, included in the sacred narratives, have a bearing upon human interests, whose importance the critic may not readily discover.

But again; “*The reasoning* of the inspired writers may be considered safely their own. The assertions, not the proofs, are the proper objects of unqualified assent.” That is to say, of course, assertions which do not involve any points of philosophy or history. Where these are positively or absolutely made, we must receive them as of Divine authority; the reasoning about them is merely human and fallible. These, then, must be instances in which the writers announce the truth of God from direct revelation; and then proceed to establish God's word by arguments of their own. We marvel why such arguments, placed side by side with direct annunciations from heaven, should not have appeared to those, who offered them, quite as superfluous as they do to their critics themselves, and how they could ever have thought it necessary to put them forward, and endorse the declarations of the Almighty!

The next limitation, which is made by those who apply these principles of criticism, has reference, not to philosophy and history, but to *doctrine* itself. They exclude certain doctrines, which the writers introduced on their own fallible authority, and which come not within the sphere of inspiration. Among these are sometimes reckoned opinions respecting demons, the destruction of the world, or the miraculous conception and birth of Jesus Christ. Here, and in

such other instances as we may select ourselves, the writers give us their own opinions and impressions.\*

We would here ask, why did man need a revelation at all? Was it not for the very reason that he had become so darkened and corrupted, that he could not discover truth by his own intuitions — that his feeble understanding could not of itself separate the truth from the error? Was it not even as Paul hath said — that, vain in their imaginations, and their foolish hearts darkened, professing themselves to be wise, they became fools? Is it very different now? Do not the vain imaginations, and the ten thousand forms of debasing error, which we are called daily to witness, attest that man, left to his own degraded reason, cannot sit as judge between truth and error? For this cause, he needed a revelation of pure truth, appealing at first, by miracle, to his very senses — the only evidence which *then* he could understand — that afterward, it might purge his heart and clarify his reason and transform his mind into its own resplendent image. He needed, not a system of religion which he might bring down to his own level, but which should lift him up into its own light and glory. But the theory of inspiration, against which we argue, supposes a revelation to come to man, containing true doctrine and false mingled together, and he is first to separate the dross from the gold. He must first sit in judgment upon its truths, when, for the very reason that his judgment was dark and erring, he needed the revelation. We submit whether man, thus darkened and fallible, is competent to decide upon the essentials of the gospel system, and separate between the light and the darkness — to say which of the doctrines of the Bible pertain to the special objects of a revelation, and which do not. Which of the doctrines of the New Testament did Christ come specially to reveal? The future life? And is the doctrine respecting demoniacs no way connected with the laws of the spiritual world, and the spiritual nature of man? Are the doctrines of the Scriptures respecting angels, also, to be put down, as errors of the times, and as incorporated with the teachings of Jesus by his mistaken followers? Are doctrines of Christ's pre-existence, divinity, or humanity, connected with the essentials of

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\* See Lardner's *Discourses on Demoniacs*, vol. i, of his *Credibility* — "*Jesus and his Biographers*," p. 105.

the Christian scheme, or entirely foreign to it, and without the limits of inspiration ? If we think so, then we may set aside the introduction to John's gospel as his own private reasoning or speculation, thinking that the old apostle platonized or gnosticized, and fell into the errors of his times. What doctrine is there of the New Testament — except one or two, which must be stated in the most vague and general way — that will not be made uncertain and altogether powerless, by such a canon of criticism as this ? The notion of a resurrection may have been borrowed of the Pharisees, and introduced into Christianity by Judaizing converts. Do we not know, that in our fallible and imperfect condition, the highest truth may seem to us folly, and our own errors seem like wisdom ? How, then, are we competent to say that those portions of the New Testament, which seem to us to contain the errors of former times, may not contain revelations, which our shallow philosophy hath not yet been able to compass, or understand ? What has the light of science explained in reference to them ? Nothing at all. What were called demoniacal possessions, science calls epilepsy or insanity, remaining as profoundly ignorant of the whole matter as before. Science hath but imposed upon herself with a name. With such a theory of the Scriptures, we should feel very nearly in the condition where natural religion would leave us — the mind, loosed from its moorings, and floating at random, upon every doubtful wave.

The next stage, in this downward progress of opinion, is — that the Scriptures are not inspired at all. The Bible is not an inspired book, but the history of men who lived sometime ago, that were inspired. "They belong to the department of history, biography, memoirs," and are to be regarded like all other productions of the same class. They are "the record of a revelation," and nothing more. This theory makes no distinction between the Bible and other histories, except in regard to the subjects and events it treats of. As to the style of the narrative, it often falls much below that of ordinary histories. As to the qualifications of the writers, they were honest, but rude and ignorant men, and infected with the superstitions of the times.

The question must here come up, and be pressed home upon the advocates of such a theory of the Bible, what propriety is there in using those writings, and quoting them as *sci*

*generis*, taking texts from them, and reading them in our churches? Is it because some of these writers were personally acquainted with Christ, and had better opportunities for reporting to us his words and actions? We will admit this; but the admission only affects two books of the New Testament, Matthew and John, for these only contain reports of eye-witnesses of what Christ did and taught. Then apply this principle to the Old Testament; and only four books of Moses will stand in solitary grandeur, amidst a mass of human traditions, the moral precepts of a dark age, and the poetic effusions of rude and excited minds. The book of Genesis should command no more respect than Chaldean or Egyptian chronologies; the prophets and the Psalms quoted by the Saviour, as "Scripture that cannot be broken," are nothing more than the warnings of preachers, or the outpourings of Hebrew bards. The New Testament, with the exception already made, sinks to a level with the general Christian literature of that early age; and the Catholic is right in breaking down the usual distinctions between the writings of the New Testament and those of the fathers. Why prefer Genesis to Berosus or Sanconiathon; or Hebrew literature to the Platonic Dialogues, or the Tusculan Questions? Why not read Chrysostom, or Fenelon, or George Herbert, as of equal authority in all matters of doctrine and ethics, with the writers of the New Testament? The two latter, especially, lived in more enlightened times, and were less infected with local superstitions; why not read them in the churches, in preference to Luke or Matthew, for all purposes, except those of mere testimony; and in preference to David and Jeremiah, for all purposes whatever? We see no escape possible from the conclusions which these questions indicate. We could go into the pulpit with as solemn a countenance, with any judicious and pious writer, or with any human compilation of the historical facts of the Bible, and read them to a reverent congregation, and quote them as authority.

And is it indeed credible, that the word was made flesh, and dwelt among men, that he might enlighten every man that cometh into the world, and yet that he shines upon the world through a medium so imperfect, that it dims all his original brightness? To what purpose did all the fullness of the Godhead dwell in Jesus Christ, if it cannot be manifested in its fullness to all nations and ages? Is there not the same

reason that he should be perfectly imbodied before us in his Gospels, as that he should appear two thousand years ago with perfect manifestations of his truth ; that the word written should be as full, perfect, and unerring as the Word made flesh? If not, then Christ lived and taught for Palestine, and his twelve disciples, and only two or three years, not for the whole world and for all coming generations.

But we have not yet found a resting-place. There is a stage yet farther down in this progress of opinion, and the ground beneath us is not yet firm and solid. A lower deep still opens beneath us.

Can any reason be assigned or imagined, why the same distinction between inspiration of ideas and of expression does not hold good, in respect to Christ, as it does of all other inspired men? If there be any philosophical difficulty in one case so is there in the other. Why not reject the notion of verbal inspiration, as respects the spoken words and discourses of the Saviour? We may equally well suppose that, while the thoughts of infinite wisdom were communicated to his mind, he was left to utter them according to the dictates of his finite intelligence, so that his words even if we can be sure that we have them are but the imperfect shadowing forth of eternal truth. Yea more, we may just as well suppose that, while some of his doctrines and opinions were from God, others were those of the creature, and subject to all the fallibility of human reason. So that we must sift the discourses of the Saviour, and lay off the truth from the error, ere we come to that Christian doctrine which has no alloy. The disciple becomes greater than his Master, and the servant is above his Lord. A more enlightened age can sit in judgment upon the teachings of Christ, and convict him of mistakes and errors. Priestley is terribly consistent, and comes unblenching to this conclusion. Speaking of the changes of his opinions from those of a higher to those of a lower degree of strictness, he says, he became at last " a Socinian of the lowest kind, in which Christ is considered as a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary, and *naturally as fallible and PECCABLE as Moses or any of the prophets.*"\* Mr. Belsham gives a formal digest of the recognized opinions of the class to which he belongs, the English Unitarians, " They maintain, (he says) that Jesus and his apostles were supernaturally instructed, as far as was necessary

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\* Letters to a philosophical Unbeliever, part ii, pp. 33—35.

for the execution of their commission, that is for the revelation and proof of the doctrine of eternal life, and that the favor of God extended to the Gentiles equally with the Jews, and that Jesus and his apostles were occasionally inspired to foretell future events. But they believe that supernatural inspiration was limited to these cases alone, and that when *Jesus* and his apostles deliver opinions upon subjects unconnected with the object of their mission, *such opinions, and their reasonings upon them, are to be received with the same attention and caution with those of other persons in similar circumstances of similar education and with similar habits of thinking.*" Again, "*Jesus of Nazareth was a man constituted in all respects like other men, subject to the same infirmities, the same ignorance, prejudice, and frailties.*"\*

We admire the calm consistency of these writers ; but we beg to be excused from following them into that gulf, whither their principles have urged them. Reasoning logically from their doctrine of partial inspiration, they turn the light of the Gospel into darkness and its beauty to ashes.

Still the descent is inevitable. If the apostles in their narratives have given us the impressions of their own minds, under no unerring Divine guidance ; if we are to exclude the language, the philosophy, the history and some of the doctrines of their narratives from the limit of inspiration, then it is competent for any critic to assume, that whatever appears supernatural or miraculous in the words or works of Christ, is owing to the minds of his biographers. They saw things through the medium of their own prejudices and superstitions; and so all appeared to them tinged and magnified. They looked on with the feelings, the errors, the false philosophy of a dark age, so that natural events would most surely appear to them supernatural. Christ himself may have mistaken his own impressions for the voice of God, and his own visions for revelations. Priestley's criticism upon the text, "What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before," comes most naturally from his theory of inspiration. Rather than believe that this text proved the pre-existence of the Saviour, he would believe that Christ "*imagined* he had been carried up to heaven in a vision, which, like that of St. Paul, *he had not been able to distinguish from a reality.*"†

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\* *Calm Inquiry*, pp. 447, 451. † *Letters to Dr. Price*, pp. 57, 58.

To the same purpose we may cite the criticisms of a truly eloquent critic upon much of that part of the New Testament, which had been supposed to relate supernatural events. For instance, the explanation of the transfiguration ; Peter "dreamt, as was natural for a Jew to dream, that he beheld two of the ancient prophets, Moses and Elias, conversing with Jesus. The thunder, that mysterious phenomenon as it was in those days, sounded like the articulate voice of God. *By the boundless power of imagination*, the outward and sensible phenomenon was shaped and modulated into the expression and symbol of the one overpowering feeling." The same mode of interpretation may be applied to all the miracles of the New Testament and the Old ; and Geddes, Eichorn, Strauss, and the author of the "Discourse of Religion," do but carry out into its ultimate results that theory of the Scriptures, which many have been so willing to allow. This Revelation, as we deemed it, with its lofty pretensions, sinks away to the merest naturalism. There is no such thing as a special revelation. There is no *kind* of inspiration pertaining to the Bible, that does not belong to the Shaster or the Koran, or to Jesus and his disciples, that does not belong to mankind generally. They were useful to the world, as were Confucius, Zoroaster, and Socrates, and we distinguish them as well as we may, through the myth and fable which invest them, and separate their truths from their errors through the alembic of our own understandings. Thus, as it seems to us, if the doctrine of plenary inspiration be once surrendered the light of revealed religion, which at first burned aloft, flinging far around its full and stainless brilliancy, sinks lower and lower through the damps and vapors of the pit beneath, and burns dim and yet more dim, until finally it goes out and leaves us in the dismal darkness of primeval night. This we conceive springs from no casual abuse or misapplication of the principle against which we contend, but clear and strong logic will drive the principle into these results.

III. There is another ground of argument which we would briefly present. We hold that the doctrine of plenary inspiration while it is supported by authority and is free from the disastrous tendencies, logical and practical, which we have detailed, is also in itself most consonant with right reason and the facts of the case ; that it applies with the least of difficulty to the book we call the Bible. True it has its difficulties, but they are difficulties of a different nature altogether. In the



other case, they are fatal and inconsistent with the very idea of a revelation : in this, they are just such as we should expect to find, granting a revelation to be given.

Suppose then a revelation of infinite truth to be made from God to man, man being not only finite, but dark, corrupt and sinful, having fallen from his spirituality, so as to live mainly in the outward and the sensual. What ought we to expect? First, undoubtedly, such outward proofs and sanctions as man could judge of in his fallen condition ; as could reach him even in his outward state ; corresponding precisely to the miracles by which our revelation is actually attested. Moreover we ought to expect that so much of this revelation will be clear to him at first, as he is fit to use and understand, and that all else will be to him difficult and incomprehensible. But that this first light being received, obeyed, and acted upon, the pages of the volume would be one after another illumined, and that ever unfolding glories would be unveiled to him as he advanced. If the revelation came from the same mind as did nature, God's elder Scripture, we should look for the same traces of his infinity and greatness, that are found in this magnificent universe. And we should no more expect to understand all its parts at once, than we should expect the child when first opening his eyes upon outward nature to fathom all its mysteries and laws. We will suppose a book to be published now for the first time, claiming to be inspired by God, to be in fact a divine composition. We open it and examine its contents. We find it composed after the most perfect of human models. It has the lucid arrangement and finish of style which belong to one of the orations of Demosthenes. We sit down to read and all is clear to us at once. It has all the harmonies and charms of language, and we see perfectly its unity and design. Is this evidence for the inspiration of the book? We should say at once it would be evidence conclusive against it. What ! the infinite Being revealing his mind after the poor models of human art? God speaking to men and tricking out his thoughts in the tinsel of human eloquence ! Jehovah inditing a book in such admirable style ; that it shall by no means offend the taste of ignorant and guilty mortals ! And then its clear and classic arrangement and its meaning all lying upon the surface, so obvious that we can understand it at one reading. Yes the Infinite mind opening an eternal fountain of truth, and lo ! man at one draught can drink the fountain dry. Every feature of such a composition

would betray its human origin. It has those trappings of art which would never clothe the thoughts of the everlasting mind. Such a book would soon become like our class books ; learned out, and ever after stale and unprofitable.

Suppose a blind man to open his eyes for the first time to survey the works of art and nature. You are anxious to seize upon this opportunity to impress his mind and convince him of the existence of a God present in his works. But alas ! there is so much irregularity and confusion in the works of nature, so many unsightly objects, that you find he will raise objections and fail to see God in his works. So you lead him blindfold to some splendid cathedral, you uncover his sight and bid him gaze on its graceful proportions. See here the handy work of God ! See him in those Gothic piles, those curious carvings and those lofty arches ! What would he say if he were a reasonable man ? This the work of God ! Why my poor and narrow vision can take in the whole structure at once, and its graceful finishings are devices unworthy an almighty hand. But those fields that lie outside ! hill and dale and rugged mountain and tangled wood and soaring cloud and eternal sky. Methinks there is a building which man has never touched with his chisel, and whose apartments we may explore forever.

Now this is precisely the relation between the Bible and other books. Its grand features cannot be mistaken, and the loftiest and lowliest minds have been awed before it. It is in some particulars and details that the difficulties occur, and here by all reason and analogy we should expect to find them.

We should look for a second characteristic of a Divine Book already alluded to. If it were in truth inspired ; if it imbodyed the mind of God, its words would be living words from age to age. Its truths would never be lived out and exhausted. It would never become a dead letter. All human compositions in the nature of things must become so. When society comes up to the level of the writer's mind, his book is at an end, and it is left behind in the rubbish of the past. The great works of human masters are admired for a while, and then they become old. So it is with liturgies, with human creeds and professions of faith. They become in the next age, dead, dry, and forsaken, just in proportion to the advancement of men's minds. It would be otherwise with a Divine Book. Human improvements would only make its words more living and bring out new truth and beauty from its pages. Apply this test to the

Bible. With all the difficulty which theologians feel about its inspiration, we are sure that the mass of pious minds, both learned and unlearned, never felt their own spiritual life more completely bound up with that of the Bible than at the present time. Now if it were not in reality an inspired book, it would become dull and lifeless with all advancement in the spiritual life and the spiritual advancement of society, till there was at length no affinity between the dead letter and the living soul. Let the mind of any nation be inspired and spiritualized, and its sacred books will fall away and be neglected, unless those books be filled throughout with a higher spirit than its own. So it was that the old mythology became obsolete. So would the Shaster become, if the mind of Bumah were once touched with a Divine Life. Now this capacity of the Bible to meet all the spiritual wants of all men and ages, with its light and spirit still inexhaustible, is worth more than volumes of argument or books of evidences to prove that the Divinity dwells with fullness within its bosom. The fires that are kindled by human hands will cease to glow, but never can the sun exhaust himself of his rays, never can his urn of living light become empty.

This argument, addressed not to the understanding but to the higher reason, might be carried out into applications which the limits of this dissertation will not allow. Is it not true in the personal history of every spiritual man, that the book of inspiration meets the successive wants of his unfolding nature, as no human record could do? Now if the ideas of this book were divine and not its language, or if it contained errors which might be lopped away, this could never be the case. The same ideas might be clothed in better language by minds less rude than those of the original writers. A compilation might be made excluding what successive ages had discovered to be erroneous, and the advancing and renovated mind might turn to these and be satisfied. Is it so? No; there are instincts and interior perceptions, not in rude and ignorant, but in the most spiritualized and enlightened minds, that will not thus be tampered with; which demand the *ipsissima verba*, the very language of revelation. To the merely natural or sensual man, it is tedious or absurd. But let trouble and temptation lie around him, and let his own nature begin to open up its awful mysteries into his consciousness; let penitence or devotion or religious trust become portions of his inward history, and he finds every state of

his mind, as it changes from glory to glory, painted forth as by the pencil of God upon these once mysterious leaves. One page after another becomes magically illumined, till light pours upon his whole nature, condition, and destiny. When his own spirit is brought into unison with the spirit that breathes through the word, that word becomes changed to him as did Jesus to his disciples. Not only its truths seem bright as the sun, but their raiment also appears white and glistening. This test could be successfully applied to no other book. It is true, that other books written by pious and good men are received with deeper interest, when we become more like these men; but they never speak thus to our spiritual natures and satisfy all their increasing wants. But any well arranged Bible history might do this, any well written life of the Saviour, such as Ware's or Millman's, might do it, unless there be this inspiration for which we are contending. If there be this distinction between inspiration of ideas and inspiration of language, then any body else might take the ideas and dress them out anew, and make a bible just as holy as the one we have.

IV. There are some objections to the doctrine of inspiration as now presented, which cannot well be passed over. Without taking them up and answering them all in detail, we will notice some of the more common.

1. It is said admitting such a thing as plenary inspiration, what avails it to the church and the world? The original language was translated, and very few have access to it at all. This theory then requires us to believe that the translators were inspired, as well as the original writers.

This objection is based on the assumption, that what we properly call language, considered as the clothing and embodiment of thought, consists merely of letters and articulate sounds; whereas it includes the whole matter of imagery, metaphor, illustration, style, and arrangement, indeed every thing that makes language the drapery of ideas. These may be called up by one set of arbitrary signs, as well as another, whether those signs be Greek characters or English. And these, the imagery, illustration, and arrangement are all important as pertains to the language of the Bible. The theory of partial inspiration supposes the writers to have used their own illustrations, reasonings, comparisons, and analogies, as if they were competent thus to shadow forth everlasting truth. The theory of plenary inspiration supposes that the truth flowed forth in its own appropriate forms and images, and

in its own divine order, and that these could not be changed without impairing its wholeness. Now, if the same succession of metaphor, illustration, and imagery, which is contained for example in the prophets, the discourses of Christ, or the Apocalypse, is called up to the mind by the letters of the English alphabet instead of the Greek, we do not see how their plenary inspiration is infringed.

Nevertheless the objection has *some* weight. All these we admit would not be likely to be *perfectly* transferred from one dialect to another. But the original perfect embodiment remaining, endless approximations may be made. What if in the earliest versions the English words and letters do not preserve perfectly the Divine drapery in which sacred truth is shadowed forth? The truth itself in its original and perfect form remains entire, and the world may approach it as fast and as far as they are qualified to receive it. The reader of the Bible receives at first but a small portion of its truths. They unfold before him forever. So of the translators, and there is no more practical necessity for their inspiration than for that of the readers. Nay, there is much less, for the translator may transfer from one language to another what he does not understand. We can attach very little of practical force to this objection.

2. Again it is objected, that the doctrine of plenary inspiration, to be available, must suppose the miraculous preservation of the record; whereas the Bible has been subject to the same accidents with other books, and we cannot suppose that we have an exact transcript of the inspired penmen themselves.

We cannot think that this objection has much weight; especially against those books of which plenary inspiration may be more reasonably claimed. The various readings almost uniformly pertain to mere matters of grammar, and scarcely ever to history, to reasoning, to doctrine, or fact; and whenever they do, the right reading is generally clearly determined. It is not a choice between one comparison and another, between one illustration and another, scarcely ever between one arrangement and another. And we cannot doubt that the increasing light of criticism will be sufficient for the exigency, whenever, in the progress of the race, its welfare shall be found to hang upon the difference between *καὶ* and *δέ*, or *ὅς* and *ὅ*.

3. Again it is objected, that each of the writers of the Old and New Testament preserves his own characteristics of style; whereas if the book had really been divinely composed, its style

would have been the same throughout. We answer, this is all too readily assumed. We might as well look for a uniform style in nature. If we found one tree or one landscape clothed in one kind of foliage, or covered with one species of flowers, we might as well argue that all others must wear the same appearance, else they could not be the work of the same Infinite Author. Is not this variety, if we may so say, the style of God? Is it not by endless variety that He adapts himself to all the conditions of man? We can see a most beautiful design in this very matter of diversity of style, and see it in exquisite harmony with analogy. Why did God inspire men at all to speak to humanity? Why did not his revelations drop down from the skies bearing the same uniform characteristics? For this reason, that he spake to this humanity in all its possible conditions, and the revelation must be adapted to all its changing states, from the most outward and sensual to the most inward and spiritual. He therefore spake to it through human minds, used the characteristics of human minds, without their imperfections, to clothe his truth and adapt it to the various wants of men. When He spoke to spiritual minds, he used a spiritual mind, when to the sensual, he used the sensual mind, and brought down his truth into its lowest forms of manifestation. The mind of St. John would not have been a fit medium for the communication of truth to Jews, nor would that of Moses have been fit to clothe the truth in the tender and celestial imagery of St. John. To the Hebrews he gave truth its more gross and outward forms of expression, for it was given to minds in a gross and outward state. For those of the new dispensation He used minds more ethereal, for He spake to another condition of mind. And who shall say that it was not for this very reason, that four gospels were given through the agency of four Revelators, instead of one, that the truth might be adapted in its style and composition to the various stages of man's spiritual life? Matthew and Mark dwell more upon outward facts; Luke and John, and especially the latter, upon the facts of the spiritual consciousness. Each has his own peculiar arrangement, and we cannot doubt that there were peculiar reasons for that arrangement, that Christianity might be contemplated in all its phases, according to the actual wants of the Christian mind. At any rate, the books which have been published called "*Harmonies*" in which the four narratives are broken up and combined anew, though they may be convenient for reference, instead of harmonizing the

Gospels, seem to us to have jumbled and confounded them. If it be asked, Could not the Spirit of God have revealed his truth without employing various styles of human thought and expression? it might be asked in turn, Could he not do it in this very way, and has he not done it in a manner that shows forth his wisdom and goodness? Nay, can we conceive how otherwise he could have given his truth such various and perfect adaptation to all varieties of mind, and to our ever changing moral and spiritual condition?

4. Another class of objections is founded on some of the contents of the books themselves; passages that contain false morality or false philosophy, such as the imprecations in the Psalms, or the Mosaic account of the Creation, or again, passages which seem to contain inconsistencies of dates and genealogies. There are difficulties of this kind, which we should not undertake to remove, which indeed we should not be anxious to remove, being confident that they would remove themselves, if need be, so fast as the truths already open and manifest are converted into life. Carlyle says, "Do the duty that lies near thee, and thy next duty will have become clear." So he might say, Practise the truth that is plain and manifest, and the next truth will be unveiled and open. We should expect to find just such difficulties and obscurities in a Divine Revelation, just as there are difficulties and obscurities in the book of nature, confident nevertheless that, as in the latter case so in the former, they are underlaid by laws all-harmonizing and all-pervading. In regard to the cases cited, however, we feel no difficulty, for we do not believe that Moses, in the first and second chapters of Genesis, describes the physical creation, any more than he describes, in the third chapter, moral good and moral evil growing on trees in the shape of apples, or a serpent holding an argument with a woman. Nor do we believe the imprecations in the Psalms to be directed against the personal enemies of David, any more than we suppose that in the words "Strong bulls of Bashan beset me round" he intends to describe a personal bull-fight. The whole style, spirit, and imagery of these Psalms, the context of these very passages lead us to suppose, what the great mass of readers and interpreters of all ages have supposed, that they describe the struggles and conflicts of the soul with its spiritual foes. This we might say, even had the quotations from them by our Lord furnished no clue to their interpretation. But all this aside. Such objections as these, while we live in the

general light of the Scriptures, are lost and disappear; just as the spots on the sun's disk are not seen nor thought of while we live in that general sunlight that bathes the hemisphere in glory.\*

But it is time for us to close this imperfect outline of an argument. And we do it in the full conviction, that few questions are more vital to the interests of religion than this. This subject must yet come up and be canvassed with that thoroughness and profundity which it deserves. We believe it will be found to have more direct and practical reference to the spiritual growth and prosperity of the denomination, than all questions about measures, social excitements and social action, which in view of the vast importance of right doctrine, as a solid rock on which to stand, may well be called "the flutter of the times."

E. H. S.

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\* It will be found, we think, on a candid examination, that what have been assumed as discrepancies and contradictions, will often be proved to be simply variations, such as we may well suppose might be dictated by infinite wisdom for the various adaptations of revealed truth. The inscription upon the cross, as recorded by the four Evangelists, has been assumed as a clear case of discrepancy. There is not the least discrepancy. Matthew reports, "This is Jesus the King of the Jews;" Mark, "The King of the Jews;" Luke, "This is the King of the Jews;" John, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews." Neither professes to report every thing that was written upon the cross. Suppose that there were no more than the following words, "This is Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews," and the report of each of the narrators would be strictly and verbally true, each selecting such portion as it served his special purpose to record. We might as well put it down as inconsistency, that each, instead of making his own selection, did not relate every thing which the Saviour ever said or did.



## A THANKSGIVING EXHORTATION FOR NEW YEAR'S DAY.

OUR Russian allies are wrong. They begin their years in September ; — for, they say, were the earth made at any other season, how could Adam and Eve have lived till the harvest were ripe ? This question, we may leave to others. Perhaps the antediluvian new year was celebrated in September. But for us, and with us, times and seasons and customs are changed, and are well changed ; and our year shall begin on the first of January, and no where else.

For not till now, have we felt that the year is indeed renewed. Day — the half of time, which is to us almost the whole — the bright banner of the year's glory, which is furled only as the year's strength falls way, has been growing less and less. We have received, day by day, less and less from the year's treasury of opportunities for active labor, and have had a right to feel that it was passing away, and that its resources were wasted. But now — just now, we are beginning to see that a change has come — that another fold is blown out from the banner — that another master has the charge of the treasury ; and that day — beautiful day — will not grow less and less forever. This change began, they tell us, more than a week ago, as a bright omen for Christmas ; — the darkness began to grow less and the light to grow brighter, just in time to be welcome to us. I honor the poetry, may I not say the sublimity of devotion, of those worthies of the church, who fixed the date of that anniversary ; — so that the sun himself, in his courses, as in speechless voice he sounds the praise of the Creator, should remind all men of the bright light with which the Almighty drove away earth and blackest darkness, and should be an omen of its still increasing brilliancy and power. I honor them for the spirit which would make all nature speak of that which filled their hearts. I have accepted, this year, the omen which they gave us. And now that a week more has fanned the little spark of prolonged day-light into such a flame, that we all fancy we perceive that the days are indeed longer, I would make the general feeling a general presage or promise of general use, of increased opportunity ; and therefore it is,

that I hail this day of this season, when the young phoenix year begins to flap his wings and move about a little, and show that he is not always to be a chick, but will have one day a bright summer vigor, as bright as was the father's from whose ashes he has sprung, as *the* day when our calendars should begin for us this happy new year.

And there is yet another reason, no less in point. Do you know, my kind reader, that this very period is marking a tremendous epoch in your history? Do you know that, within twenty-six hours of your beginning this year, be the precise time more or less, (for how can I tell whether you read the Christian Examiner in Astoria or Singapore,) you have been nearer to the sun than you have been for the whole past year; and, which is more, nearer than you or any other mortal will ever be again. The hospitalities of the hospitable season are not lost on the larger bodies of the system; good mother earth has bent so near to the sun, in her year's course, and he, as fast as his cumbrous weight would let him, has come up so far towards her, that they have wished each other a happy new year. And now she is just starting for another race; and next June, my dear friend, you will be some three millions of miles farther from him, your most constant illuminator, your most faithful of link-boys, than you are now. Alas too! though she and he will both, next winter, approach each other, in this annual bend of courtesy, they will not draw so near as they do now; and another winter, they will be farther yet; and so on, for hundreds of hundreds of years.\* There is, it seems, a gradual coldness creeping in upon their winter intimacy. The more earnestly will you and I, then, note their approach of yesterday. I am sure that, that day when you and I, on mother earth, are first again whirled away from him, so far into this cold ether, is the best of days to plant our monument, and to cry, New Year! — New Year!

Reason enough is there, for us to plant here our monuments. Reason enough, that each of us should wish every other, a happy journey — either till we shall all write another inscription, and set up another stone at the beginning of

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\* The eccentricity of the earth's orbit diminishes gradually, at the rate of thirty-nine and a half miles a year. This diminution will continue, before a retrograde movement, for several centuries.

another year ; or till our paths separate, and one or the other of us exchanges time for eternity. Reason enough, that we should look back on the past, to wonder, to regret, to smile, or to be grateful. Reason enough, that we should all look forward to resolve. Reason enough, that we should pray to God. Reason enough, now, if not always, that we should thank him, especially for the goodness and wisdom which guide the sun in its courses, which appointed the rulers of the day and of the night, for signs, and seasons, and days, and years — for signs of good — for fruitful seasons — for days of rejoicing — and for happy years.

Reason enough now ! — and why not enough always — every day — to arouse this gratitude ? Why, indeed ? Without attempting to say, that it should not or does not rise, we may find the spell which often lulls it to sleep, in the very regularity of the blessing. The very fact of regularity takes from the change of seasons and of days the power of exciting attention at any one particular moment. There is no start, no sudden shock of wonder, to excite gratitude ; for the very circumstance for which we would be grateful, is that quiet passage of things which has run on without startling, or shocking, or terrifying, or surprising us. Certainly, as years and months slip by smoothly and quietly, we do not often remember how different we should be, how different society would be, were we not sure of the regularity with which time's phases are presented to us. *Because* the sun rises regularly every morning, and sets as regularly every evening, it is, that we seldom pause to think of the very singular and disagreeable position in which we should be, if its movements had not this precision. When I engage to do this or that to-morrow morning, I hardly ever pause to think how fortunate I am to know that to-morrow morning will occur, at the precise distance of time which I am contemplating ; — that I may not have to wait till summer before another morning comes. Or when, after a sound night's sleep, I am surprised to find the light returned, my surprise is seldom of such a nature as to lead me to doubt, whether this particular night has, in fact, been more than ten minutes long ; I forget to be grateful for the regularity of the dawn's return, if indeed I am grateful for its return at all. The inconveniences, to which days and

nights of accidental length would submit me, are almost always forgotten.

Of the return of seasons we take more note. We do speak of the regularity of seed time and harvest ; and, at this time, especially, when a *new* year glides in, and we look at the every-day wonders, which only cease to be miracles, because they happen every day, and recollect how much we owe to Providence,—all uniting in joy, as new year's day comes round, and welcoming it, the youngest child being glad that it is here—we are thankful, first of all, for that unerring precision of nature, to which only we owe it that a New Year's day has come.

Reader ! that our gratitude may be somewhat distinct and defined, that its bright beams may not be lost, for want of some poor tissue, some thin smoke-cloud, on which they may fall, and form a clear, and brilliant, and beautiful image, I offer to you this essay. Let us see where we should be, if we had not these regularly recurring seasons around us. Supposing, of course, our existence, and passing by, therefore, all consideration of the physical necessity to the preservation of life of the return of days and months and years, let us look on the intimate connection between this return and our spiritual and intellectual pleasures.

That strange man, William Whiston, formed the theory, that at the creation, the plane of the world's equator and that of the ecliptic were the same ; and that, in consequence, the garden of Eden, and all the rest of the world, was then a land,

Where everlasting Spring abode.

The man, who invented such a paradise, ought to have the only admittance into it. Let us imagine him, or some of his brethren, living in that perennial spring-time ; and, to make the conception complete, we will add an unmoving sun, always on the meridian, to give life, and heat, and splendor, to the ever luxuriant and verdant scene. There is Whiston's paradise !

Now suppose, for a moment, that in it Whiston, or whoever inhabited it, retained any of his intellectual powers, how far would any of them be pleasures ? His memory, for instance, how much vivacity would that have ? What pleasures would he derive from it ? He would have, connected

with it, only the faintest ideas of time. The shipwrecked mariner, as he lies, plank-buoyed, tossing on the ocean, has no very correct ideas of time, as he rises and falls on the waves, with nothing but his own thoughts to arouse him ; but he would be a perfect chronologer, a living chronometer, compared with Whiston, for he can watch the motion of the sun, as it blazes over him, in its daily passage. The martyr at the stake, the invalid under the surgeon's hands, note time passing very correctly ; but they, too, count its seconds much better than *he* could. Where all external change is removed as time goes on, all definite and correct ideas of time vanish, and all the associations, which are the usual guides to memory, vanish too. Our philosopher's recollection of his rather monotonous round of pleasures, of the discovery of beautiful flowers, never the earliest of the season, in some unexpected spot ; his recollection of his intercourse with friends, of his surprises, his hopes, and his fears, such as they were, would precisely resemble the recollections which he might have of a dream, as he awoke some noon, perfect enough in details, but without the slightest connection or sequence. Every event, in such reminiscences, would appear as if contemporary with every other ; or rather, no one could have any means of telling which came first in the order.

But we need not taunt our victim with want or failure of memory. He would tell us, and tell us truly, that to him that failure was no loss ; it would have been useless to him, had he possessed it. What is to him a perfectly adjusted and regular recollection of a life, the externals of which, and, in consequence, the internal emotions of which, have been so miserably monotonous ? After the earliest years of his life, he never sees anything new, anything to excite attention ; his powers of observation are wholly satiated, for these same objects of nature have always been before him, in this same form. What use of memory of scenes, and prospects, and processes of nature, when he has only to open his eyes, and look round, and see precisely the same again ? Better for him, if he could *wholly* forget ; if he had not this dreamy form of memory, just vigorous enough to rob his world and its changes of all novelty. You have stripped him of anniversaries, of pleasant associations with changing seasons. His life has been a barren steppe, without a mountain pro-

pect or cascade, without a stream, without a grove, without a rock, without even a cloud, or a whirlwind, or a simoom, or a moving sand column, to destroy its terrible uniformity. You, happy mortal, welcome the freshness of spring, the maturity of summer, the sudden and gorgeous changes of autumn ; and, as this fades away into winter, you are cheered by the confidence, that from this death will spring the luxuriance and perfection of another year. With him, there is no freshness ; nothing is renewed ; there is no change, and he has nothing for which to hope. You enjoy, in summer, the beauties of nature with the more zest, because you have been debarred from them ; and as, in your comfortable home, you laugh at the rigors of winter, you enjoy winter's hospitality and novelty the more, from the half-novelty of their forms. All such excitement would be lost, in the sickly, green-house life, which we have been imagining. The richer nature's sweets may be, the more surely would they cloy, if presented without variety.

In the perennial spring, then, man has no memory of any value, no power of recollection, and no variety from time to time. Without these, where would be the pleasures or the powers of imagination ? A man unaccustomed to see changes around him, and in himself, can form no conception of such changes, worthy of the name. Our highest imagination uses no materials, I believe, which are not furnished it by mental or physical operations, which have before existed. Caspar Hauser, for instance, in his cell, could have imagined nothing, but the various ways in which mice could cross it, or other such matters of internal regulation. He could not, in fancy even, call up an idea of the sun or the stars, or of anything beyond the class of his existing ideas and conceptions. Homer could imagine no gods, whose attributes were not in kind human ; their exercise of those attributes differed only in degree from those of men. If he had never observed, he could never have imagined. And, with reverence we say it, we have no conception of any attribute of an infinite God, of which we have not seen or known some exercise.

The experimenting philosopher, then, would have the most useless memory ; only a halting power of recollection ; no variety of life ; the coldest imagination only ; and, consequent on this, of course, the weakest curiosity. Where, to him, would be the charm of society ? What sympathy with

others' thoughts, where thoughts were so few? What pleasure in sympathy with others' feelings, when of necessity all feelings were so nearly the same? What interest in conversation among such forgetful, dreamy, matter-of-fact, and listless creatures? What hope for the future?

And so I might go on to speak of the tastes and faculties and pleasures closely bound to these which I have named, but that the urging farther this conception of a wise man's paradise would make the suggestion appear absurd; and I have not introduced it here to raise a smile. No! it is in sincere thankfulness that I contrast our happy world with such a paradise.

I find that I am freed from any such cursing monotony, on the one hand, and on the other, that I may rely on a regularity of change, sufficient to enable me to profit by life's experience. With quite enough variety in my existence, I am, still, not launched on every new day or month without any ability to foresee in part what it may bring me. Winter does not surprise me unprepared, for I have met, and struggled with, and conquered his rigors before. My friend, the farmer, ploughs and sows in the way which last year's experience taught him; the merchant, of whom I buy, lays in his stores, I find; my landlord builds new dwellings; my sailor classmate arranges his voyage, all relying on the same experience. Nor is this all. This regularity has a deeper effect on our actions. The statesmen, who govern us, plan their codes and laws, in certain faith, that what has been will be; in my studies of nature, I investigate her laws of metamorphosis, certain that another summer will give me another opportunity to make my theoretical botany practical. I prescribe for my patients, I regulate their movements and their lives, with the same certainty in an established climate. And, more than this, I find that every inquiring mind not only supposes, and calculates on this regularity of natural movement, but examines it with a certain wonder, as he reflects upon it and asks whence it comes. The philanthropist looks at it with pleasure, for in such varying phases he finds room for the action of every variety of men. The studious philosopher tells me, that in this change he finds the all-governing principle of love, that, in all, it teaches him how there may be unity in variety. The warm-hearted worshipper turns with new ardor to his God; he finds in all this variety of beneficence new supports for the reason which accompanies his faith; and while he sees a type of man's existence in the decaying seed and the opening germ; in

the verdure springing from the decay of the forest leaves ; in the melting snow and the swelling river ; in the tide ebbing only to flow again ; he finds in the whole course of nature something more than a type ; a sure proof of God's mercy ; and that his providence is in all.

Here is the point to which I have been looking ; here is the thread of my New Year's Exhortation to Thanksgiving. Though man knows that the existence of his mind and its powers is wholly independent of the material world around him, he finds that every detail in the movement of that material world is so arranged, that those powers have or may have full exercise, that they do not rust out, or lose their balance for want of use. Man, with the noblest mental abilities, with the loftiest spiritual hopes, is not placed in the perennial summer of the sun's centre, in the perennial spring-time of a fancied paradise, in the perennial winter of a distant planet, or in the deadening though ephemeral existence of a comet, whose summer's day and whose winter's night each compasses half of eternity ; is not placed where mind and soul could not live in vigor, but where, and where only, they could be exercised and strengthened. Man's mind, his soul, is not imprisoned, nor left to wander in a desert, or a jungle, or a tropical savannah, is not left without nature's beauties or with a single series of self-poisoned ones ; but is free in the wonders and changes and ever new delights of our dear, our beautiful world. Man, all fitted as he is for time, is not banished unprepared into an eternity. That man may be happy, that man may be strong, that man's soul may grow, that all his powers may be one day presented faultless before his Maker, does the world hang where it does in space, do its movements, and those of the sun which guides it, pass as they do in time. For this does the Creator watch them in the constant now of his eternity.

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## THE LATE ALDEN BRADFORD, ESQ.

Mr. BRADFORD died in Boston, October 26th, aged seventy eight years. He was a native of the town of Duxbury, in Plymouth county. He was graduated at Harvard college in 1786, being a member of the class illustrated by the names of Chief Justice Parker, Speaker Bigelow, John Lowell, President Harris, Senators Champlin and Thompson, and others, living and dead, who have rendered distinguished services in church and state. He was tutor at Cambridge two or three years, pursued theological studies under the direction of the venerable Dr. West of Dartmouth, and after receiving invitations to settle in some other places, was, in 1793, ordained to the pastoral charge of the Congregational Church in Wiscasset, Maine. After a diligent and acceptable ministry of eight years in this place, he was compelled by failing health to retire, and was soon after appointed Clerk of the Supreme Court for the county of Lincoln.

In 1811, in consequence (if the memory of the writer is not in fault) of the passage of a law transferring the appointment of the clerks from the Judges to the Governor and Council, he was displaced by Governor Gerry, along with other prominent adherents of the Federal school of politics. A very effective paper, which he soon after published, on the political aspects of the times, procured for its author a high reputation, and on the restoration of his party to power, the next year, he was appointed to the office of Secretary of the Commonwealth. The important duties of this honorable place he continued to discharge with characteristic zeal and assiduity, and apparently to the satisfaction of all parties, for twelve years, at the end of which time he was superseded, on the accession of a government of the adverse political creed. He then removed to New Bedford, and, as a Justice of the Peace, was engaged for some years in duties of the class which, since the institution of the Police Court, have devolved upon that tribunal. In 1836 he received a commission as Notary Public, and since that time has been an inhabitant of this city.

Mr. Bradford's natural bent of mind, confirmed by the circumstances of his early years, created a taste for literary pursuits,

which never forsook him, and which he always found opportunities to gratify, amidst the engagements of a busy life. Numerous publications, in the departments of history and theology, attest his steady diligence. Descended from different families of the Pilgrims, and himself the representative of the second Governor of the Old Colony, (the first, whose administration was long enough to leave an impress on the infant state,) the deeds and characters of those venerable men were always to him a subject of intensely interesting inquiry, and few men have acquired a more familiar acquaintance with our early history. His theological works, manifesting themselves uniformly as the fruits of candid, inquisitive, and upright investigation, and betokening the action of a kind and Christian spirit, would have attracted more attention, had they appeared at that different period of theological inquiry in this country, when their author's opinions were formed. Among the most important of the productions of his pen were a History of Massachusetts from 1764 to 1820, a History of the Federal Government from 1789 to 1839, a Biographical Dictionary of the New England worthies, a Popular Commentary upon the Four Gospels, and a Life of Dr. Jonathan Mayhew; besides which he is understood to have left in manuscript a Chronology of New England, from the time of its discovery to 1820, and copious additions to his History of Massachusetts, prepared with a view to a new edition. Mr. Bradford was a Doctor of Laws, President of the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, and a Fellow of the Historical and Antiquarian Societies of Massachusetts, and of various other associations for similar objects throughout the country.

He has well deserved to be held in honorable and grateful remembrance. He was a man of sterling and independent honesty, in speculation, in purpose, and in act. He passed cheerfully through life, amid some circumstances of trial and discouragement, attended by the good angel of an inflexible and buoyant trust in God. He had a generous and hearty public spirit. His tastes were only for useful and liberal pursuits. His activity was indefatigable; there was no more danger of his mind being permitted to rust on the eve of four-score, than in the bloom of life. He was perfectly candid and tolerant; he readily allowed every rightful claim of others, and made no parade of his own; and in his preferences of sect and party, there was no alloy of narrowness or ill-will. It was a pleasure to him to do a service to friend or stranger. He had the kindest affections, an eminently social disposition, and a tenderness

of sensibility which is rarely seen to outlast so much experience. He lived the happy life of one whose aims and feelings are righteous, elevated, pure, and Christian, and he died happy in the full, though unostentatious enjoyment of an intelligent believer's hope.

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### NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*The influence of Scientific Discovery and Invention on social and Political Progress. Oration delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, on Commencement day, September 6, 1843.* By JOB DURFEE. Providence : B. Cranston & Company. , 1843.

"THE Gospel of Arkwright," to use the peculiar phraseology of that most peculiar being Thomas Carlyle, is proving itself to be more of a gospel, than many seem to know of; it preaches glad tidings to man, by universalizing civilization and knowledge; by cheapening the commodities of life, by bettering the situation of the poor generally, by equalizing the condition of man, and preparing the human mind for the reception of high moral and spiritual truths; and we are glad that it has found so able an interpreter in our friend the Chief Justice of Rhode-Island. The address before us is something better than a highly finished literary performance; it is the work of a thinker and a philosopher, and the eloquence of thought is well sustained by the force and beauty of language in which it is clothed. We knew the author before only as a poet, and save a few official papers from his pen, especially during the late troublous times, in our sister State, his "Whatcheer," with Roger Williams for its hero, which was reviewed and lauded in England, is the only thing of the Judge's we have read. In that, however, we found not only much sweet verse and many highly poetical passages, but also a depth of thought, a spirituality of feeling, and an ardent love of "the largest liberty," though the work is of too quiet and serene a character to be popular in an excitement-loving community like ours. After we had perused, this  $\Phi B K$  oration, we felt that our Rhode Island brethren have good reason to regard the Judge as intellectually their strongest man, and that they may well be proud of him.

In the early part of his speech, a complaint is made, that "we are disposed to ascribe too much of human progress to particular forms of government—to particular political institutions, arbitrarily established by the will of the ruler, or wills of the masses, in accordance with some theoretic abstraction. And this is natural enough in a country where popular opinion makes the law. But, to the mind that has formed the habit of penetrating beyond effects into the regions of causes, it may, I think, appear that the will of the one, or the will of the many, equally are under the dominion of a higher law than any they may ordain; and that political and social institutions are, in the end, drawn or constrained to all their *substantial* improvements, by an order of mind still in advance of that which rules in politics, and flatters itself that dominion is all its own." He goes on to state the proposition, that "When the arts and sciences became stationary, all social and political institutions became stationary; when the arts and sciences became progressive, all social and political institutions became progressive." He thence declares, "That we are not to seek for the causative energy of human progress in the wisdom of the political, but in that of the scientific and inventive mind. Let it moreover be recollected, that at least in these our times the scientific and inventive genius has a universality, which elevates it above all human jurisdiction; that it belongs to the whole humanity, and can be monopolized by no government; and that its discoveries and inventions walk the earth with the freedom of God's own messengers."

"The scientific and inventive genius of the race," he continues, "requires government upon the penalty of ceasing to exist, to carry out to the utmost extent, both in the social and political spheres, every important discovery and invention, and thus coerces, by a process its own, obedience to its supreme authority. But what is this process? It may be a short, but it is a sufficient answer for the occasion, to say, that it is the elevation of mind over matter; in the material universe, it is the extension of the dominion of man over the powers and forces of nature; in humanity, it is the orderly elevation of the high moral and intellectual energies over the brute force of passion, prejudice, and ignorance. In the realm of science and art, the most exalted geniuses and the brightest intellects, that it contains, are ever at the head of affairs. They are there, not by the appointment of government, nor by the election of the masses, but by a decree of the Supreme Intelligence." And here we would pause and congratulate our author, that in place of any of the spurious systems so prevalent at the present day, he has imbibed the true spirit of that genuine philosophy, that looks up to the Infinite Being as the

Source of all human progress, as the Teacher as well as Father of his children; and hence has learned to regard all men as brethren, bound together by the ties no hand can sever — one great indivisible unity. There are evidences too plainly to be mistaken, that this is growing to be the philosophy and theology of the coming time.

There seems to be in human progress two separate tendencies; first, the tendency to outward order, beauty, and comfort; that is, the true developing itself as the useful; and, second, the development of intellectual and spiritual order. And the former is the forerunner, and paves the way for the latter. As preparatory steps to a high intellectual and spiritual culture, we shall first observe the endeavor to improve and make convenient and beautiful the outward life; and secondly, the bringing man in contact with his fellow man the world over, and thus making universal the great gifts of civilization. Personal labor being thus rendered lighter and the supply of all outward wants facilitated; opportunity and leisure are allowed men to turn their attention from the outward to the inward world, from the world of matter to the world of mind. And thus the spiritual nature, the divine life, the principle of love commences its manifestations in the conscious action of individual minds. While reason indicates the necessity of these preparatory steps, History proves their existence in the action of human life.

At first, all science, and all high culture is with the few; in the words of our author, "In the realm of science and art, the most exalted geniuses and the brightest intellects that it contains are ever at the head of affairs. They are there not by the appointment of government, nor by the election of the masses, but by a decree of the Supreme Intelligence." The "Archimedean stand-point" on which the scientific intellect takes his commanding station to move the earth, is in an elevation "far above the world and its turmoils:" here "the scientific philosopher interrogates the deity of truth, and communicates its oracles to the whole nether humanity; confident that as they are *true*, whatever may be their present effect, they will ultimately promote the progress of the race. Nor is he at liberty to abstain from interrogating this deity; to refrain from the efforts to discover and consequently to invent, whenever a discovery is to be actualized by invention. That law, which prompts the mind spontaneously to search for the cause of every effect, and for the most effectual means for the accomplishment of the end, is not superinduced by education. It comes from a source above man; it is constitutional, therefore irresistible, and he makes his inventions and discoveries because he must make them." "But where and what," inquires

our author, "is this point on which the scientific intellect takes this commanding stand? It is not to be found in that space which can be measured by the glance of the eye, or a movement of the hand. It is to be found only in the world of mind; and even there, only in that *perfect reason*, which is at once a *law to humanity*, and the revealer of all truth."

Every where the Chief Justice shows himself in the *highest sense* of the term a rationalist. He puts no faith in mysteries; he believes in interrogating every thing, and demanding its *reason*; — in going to causes — to first principles, no matter how deep they may be hidden. And not on any "political abstractions" does our assurance of progress depend, but on those progressive tendencies of our very nature to which we have before alluded. It has been said that he, who made two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, is a great benefactor of his race; the same may be said of him, through whose direct or indirect agency two yards of cloth, or two pages of print, are produced for the same price, that was formerly paid for one; or of him who has reduced one half the fare for travel-transportation from one portion of the earth to another; for such do more to elevate the physical, mental, and moral condition of humanity, and to carry out farther the principles of a true equalizing democracy, than any abstract theory of republicanism or any legislative action. But we will give place to an abler pen than ours, and present the reader with an extract from an eloquent illustration of our author's from a thought suggested by an invention in a branch of mechanic art.

"I lately," he says, "visited an establishment, perhaps in some respects the first of the kind in our country, for the manufacture of iron into bars. I stood by, and for the time, witnessed the operation of its engine. I saw the large misshapen mass of crude metal taken blazing from the furnace, and passed through the illumined air to the appropriate machine. I saw it there undergo the desired transformation. It was made to pass repeatedly between two grooved revolving iron cylinders, of immense weight. At every turn of the wheel, it took new form; it lengthened, stretched, approximating still its intended shape, till at the end of the operation it came forth a well fashioned fifteen or twenty-foot bar of iron, ready for the hand of the artizan, or the machine that was to resolve it into forms for ultimate use. When I had witnessed this process, I thought I did not want to go to the banks of the Nile to be assured either of the antiquity or the progress of the race. An older than the pyramids was before me; one which, though voiceless, told a tale that commenced before the Pharaohs, before the Memnon, before Thebes. Here was a material which had been common to the historical portion of the human family for the space of five or six thousand years. Millions on millions of minds had been tasked to improve the process of its manufacture. • I went back in imagination to that

primitive age, when the first unskilful hand, some fur-clad barbarian or savage, drew a mass of the raw material from the side of some volcanic mountain. He constructed a vessel of clay for its reception, and somewhat in imitation of the process he had witnessed, he placed it over a heap of burning combustibles. With long and patient labor and care, he reduced it to a liquid mass; and then cast it into the shape of some rude implement of husbandry or war. Exulting in his success, he brandished the instrument in triumph, and deemed it the *ne plus ultra* of human improvement.

"He disappeared; but he left a successor. I followed him in imagination, and saw him take the art at the point at which his predecessor had left it. He had discovered that the metal was not only friable but ductile; and with sweat and toil that knew no fatigue, he gradually beat the heated mass into the shape of something like a hatchet or a sword; but his successor came and still improved on the labors of his predecessor. Generation thus followed generation of apt apprentices in the art; they formed a community of masters, skilful to direct and of servants prompt to obey. They fashioned new implements as their numbers increased, and the wants of advancing civilization varied and multiplied. The master minds studied, and studied successfully, all the various qualities and susceptibilities of the metal. They became skilful in all its various uses in agriculture, commerce, manufactures and war."...

"This brought me to the process which I had just witnessed, and I thought I saw in it the grand result of the discipline and labor of the race for thousands of years. I thought I saw in it not only the reality of a progress in the race, but the unquestionable proof of the existence of a law of progress, carrying on its grand process through the whole humanity by a logical series of causes and effects, from its earliest premises, in far distant antiquity, to its latest result; and that the law, which rules in discovery and invention, is one and identical with that which governs in the progress of the race."

After glancing at Egyptian civilization, and thence to Grecian, our author says, "They (the Corinthians) invented the war galley of three banks of oars. They constructed a navy of like craft. This was followed by great results; they cleared the Grecian seas of pirates; nations settled on the coast, and by like means kept them clear. The Mediterranean was laid open to honest traffic; commerce flourished, the arts flourished. The Grecian communities took the longest stride in the infancy of their progress, from this simple *improvement* in naval *architecture*, the longest, with the exception of that made by the Trojan war."

He passes the gulph of the middle ages with this single observation, "that it was a season during which Christianity was engaged in humanizing and softening the heart of barbarism, and thus qualifying its mind to take form under the influence of modern art and science."

In conclusion, the Judge describes very eloquently and justly, the influence of several of the most important inventions of modern times. We wish we had space to quote the whole, in

justice to the author as well as the reader, but are compelled to close abruptly both our remarks and our extracts.

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*A Centennial Discourse, delivered to the First Congregational Church and Society, in Leominster, Sept. 24, 1843, at being the completion of a century since the organization of said church, with an Appendix. By RUFUS P. STEBBINS, Minister of the First Congregational Society in Leominster. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1840.*

EVERY town has, of necessity, its history ; and it is a pity it should, in any instance, remain an unwritten one. If written with tolerable judgment and ability, everything would, at least, possess a deep local interest, if not a general value. To the inhabitants of a village, the most trivial incidents, connected with its early annals, have about them a certain romantic charm, little, or not at all perceived, by others ; but, to themselves, of more account than the most famous volumes of earlier or later fiction. The names of the first settlers, the sites of their dwellings, their manners, their morals, and their strangely fashioned garments, their deeds of valor with the wild beast, or the wilder Indian, their family feuds, and, above all, their religious controversies, are more to them than the world-renowned achievements of Achilles or Tancred. Methuen, Sharon, and Seekonk, can boast their quarrels, and their reconciliations, their heroes, their wise men, their Hectors, and their Nestors, their Hampdens, and their Franklins. No name of virtue, or of courage, should be permitted to die. It may not be made to live to the wide world, by any fame a history of a town can confer ; but it will be remembered and honored by a posterity, grateful for the actions and the virtues of those who laid the foundations of their little state, and may serve as well as names of greater note, to awaken in the breast of the village school-boy a generous ambition, — to teach lessons of wise conduct, patient endurance, unyielding perseverance, of duty, of patriotism, of religious trust.

Leominster is one of our more modern towns, its history going back no further than to the beginning of the last century. The first settler set up his log cabin in 1725. Yet its history possesses no little interest ; not, indeed, the interest of stirring incident, but which is better, of high-principled character. If Mr. Stebbins had done nothing more than rescue from neglect the name of John Rogers, he would have entitled himself to the thanks of every one, who holds in honor independence of mind, bold and honest utterance of opinion. The ministry of Mr. Rogers is the central point of attraction in this history ; and it is



something for a town to boast of, to have had a man of so much character — to say nothing of his descent from the famous martyr of the same name — to figure in its annals. This person was not only a Unitarian, but a martyr to his heretical opinions; that is to say, he was driven from his parish by a council, who could not endure that a brother should think differently from themselves, or rather, that he should speak out his thoughts; for many of them, Mr. Rogers declares, held the same doctrine with himself. The letter of Mr. Rogers to his church, after his sentence of dismission had been pronounced, will give an impression of the man, and a picture of his times.

**CHRISTIAN FRIENDS AND BRETHREN:**

I lament that we must be separated. I suffered and toiled with you to establish this church. Most of those, who laid the foundation of this altar of God in the wilderness, still stand with me. My enemies are mostly those who came among us, as strangers, whom we welcomed with a Christian affection to our table of communion, and house of worship; but who have now, ungratefully, like the serpent in the fable, bitten their benefactors. The council, too, which have advised you to this course, are not free from guilt. Some of them, and not a few, think as I do on those very doctrines which they pronounce so fatal, and which they call upon me, in the pitiful tones of children, to renounce. I forgive them their sin. May God forgive them. Posterity will revise their decision, and judge their characters. I do not understand why I should be singled out, from the other ministers around me, to be made a victim. I differ from them in nothing, without it is in frankly declaring what I do believe. Their opinions are like mine. I confess that, on some points, I have modified my opinions since I came among you: and I am grieved to think, that any are so simple as to suppose it an indication of mental weakness, or perfidy of heart, or treachery to duty, to grow wiser as one grows older, and studies longer. John Robinson warned his church to beware of thinking that no more light would beam out of the Word of God; expressly warning them not to stick fast, as some did, where Calvin left the truth, but to follow on after more truth. Our covenant, it is true, implies the doctrine of the Trinity, but it does not require any one always to believe it; it expressly exhorts us to study the Word of God both day and night, and to conform ourselves thereunto. I have done so. Am I guilty of a crime? I am willing to be classed with Newton, and Milton, and Locke, and other good and great men, in the opinions which I hold. No one need be ashamed in their company. As for recanting my opinions, Christian friends, I cannot do it. God and my conscience would both condemn me. I could not think of myself but with shame. My ancestor suffered the torture of fire, and death at the stake, rather than recant, or conceal his opinions; could I meet him in heaven without a blush, if I should deny what I believe to be God's truth? Could I answer to my Master, Christ? Judge ye. I lament to be cut off from you. I am poor, and know not where to go. My little ones cry around me for bread. Still I will trust in God, who has never yet forsaken me. He

will care for me and mine. I hope, if you do expel me from the office of Pastor, that you will pay me what you owe me. For ten years I have been willing to share in your poverty, by not calling for a portion of my salary which was justly due to me. Now if I am to be cast abroad upon the world, I feel as if I must be permitted to receive what is necessary to my very existence. But no more of this. The extremest want alone could have compelled me to mention it in this connexion. Brethren, pause before you act. Consider, I pray you, what will be the end of these things; what will be thought of this, after we are all in our graves. God give you wisdom to act in this matter, as you will all wish you had, when you stand in His presence to answer for this deed. And may the great Head of the Church keep you, and build you up in truth and holiness ever more.

Your devoted, yet aggrieved Pastor,

JOHN ROGERS.

But Mr. Rogers was not forsaken by all, though driven from his church and his living. A few adhered to him to the last days of his life; and to them, as a separate congregation, he continued to preach the gospel, in his own interpretation of it. Of these last days, let Mr. Stebbins speak.

"Mr. Rogers continued to preach in the school house, to his few, but devoted, faithful adherents, till his body was bowed with the weight of years and cares, and his head white with the frosts of age. During the last years of his ministry, he preached during the winter in his own house, which stood on the spot now occupied by the house of Deacon Moses Richardson. His infirmities became so great, that in 1788, after having ministered to his little flock twenty-six years, he desired to be excused from his labors, to which his people consented; and they generously voted to pay him his salary for three years, fifteen pounds each year. He did not live, however, but a short time after this arrangement. He died the sixth of October, 1789, in the forty-seventh year of his ministry, and in the seventy-seventh year of his age. His remains lie in our burying ground, without a stone to mark their resting place, and his grave, like the old Patriarch's, is unknown unto this day, Thus labored, and suffered, and died, Rev. John Rogers, the first settled minister of this town. His labors appear to have been blessed by the Head of the Church. During these fourteen years, one hundred and six members united with the church, though a large proportion were by letter, and twenty-nine united with his church after the separation; in all, one hundred and thirty-five. There were, during his ministry, three hundred and fifty-eight baptisms, and seventy-three marriages. He was a descendant of John Rogers, the first martyr under Queen Mary. He was born in Boxford, September, 1712. He was the son of Rev. John Rogers, of Boxford, who was the son of Jeremiah Rogers, of Salem, who was the grandson, as is supposed, of Nathaniel Rogers, of Ipswich, who came from England in 1636, and who was the second son of John Rogers of Dedham, England, who was the son of one of the ten children of John the martyr."

From a note, we learn that, "in good time, a monument will be erected over the grave of John Rogers, if it can be found; if

not, it will probably stand on the spot which his pulpit covered, now enclosed within the burying ground."

We cannot follow down the thread of this history, and will only add, that it is well drawn up; and, we may suppose, well worthy of trust, the town and parish records, together with private journals, being the sources of his authority.

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*A Discourse, embracing several important objections to the doctrine, "That Jesus Christ, as Mediator, possesses two natures, the divine and human, in mysterious, yet all harmonious union." In reply to a recently published Sermon, delivered by the Rev. Daniel Baker, in the First and Second Presbyterian Churches, Richmond, Va. By J. B. PITKIN, Pastor of the First Independent Christian Church, Richmond, Va. Richmond: Printed by Samuel Shepherd & Co. 1834. Charleston: Reprinted by B. B. Hussey. 1843.*

*A Sermon preached on Fast Day, before the First Congregational Society, in Burlington, Vt., by their Minister, GEORGE G. INGERSOLL. University Press, Burlington: Printed by Stilman Fletcher. 1843.*

*Our Faith. A Sermon, delivered in the First Church in Beverly, May 7, 1843. By CHRISTOPHER T. THAYER, Minister of that Church. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1843.*

*"What Thinkest Thou?" A Sermon, preached in the Twelfth Congregational Church, Boston, Sunday, March 5, 1843. By SAMUEL BARRETT, Minister of that Church. Boston: Printed by Tuttle & Dennett. 1843.*

THESE are all doctrinal discourses. Mr. Pitkin's is reprinted from the first edition in 1834. It is a clear and able argument on the old controversy, popular in its form, and calculated to produce an impression on the reader. As a tract for distribution it must be considered very good. The other sermons are more recent, preached and published within the year; and well worthy of the established reputations of the writers.

These sermons, with many others of the same character, but, especially, the language adopted at the late convention in Providence, indicate a tendency to return to the forms of doctrinal preaching, so common twenty-five years ago. At Providence, the opinion prevailed almost universally in favor of it, as essential to the progress of truth. But few voices were heard on the opposite side. Our sympathies, however, were with the minority, and we truly regret that the present tendency is so strong toward

doctrinal and controversial writing, preaching, and printing. If, indeed, doctrine — meaning by the term, the doctrine about which Christians differ — possesses the importance commonly attached to it in the minds of men, then it ought to be taught in every way, from the pulpit and from the press, by private and public indoctrination in every form. But the question is first to be settled, whether it does in fact possess a value which entitles it to the regard in which we hold it, and to the efforts we are always making for its spread ; whether more of evil than of good does not come of so exclusive an affection for it. It seems to us that this game of sectarianism has long enough been played before the world. Ever since we have heard of religion, have we heard the everlasting din of the arms of contending sects, fighting for the ascendancy of doctrine. It would seem that whatever good can come of such devotion to the interests of party doctrine, ought by this time to be plainly apparent. But where and what are its fruits ? The doctrine of the Trinity was disputed in the second century. Is it settled now ? In the reign of Constantine, the Christian world was nearly equally divided on the great question. How is it now ? If we look back upon the past, we perceive that it has been this interest in doctrine, this bigotted attachment to opinion, that has kept one half the Christian world at war with the other. It is doctrine, the doctrine about which Christians have differed, never the truth they have held in common, that has shed the blood of martyrs and reformers. It is doctrine that has kindled and fed the fires of all religious wars, of the thirty years' war in Germany, and the other thirty years' wars that the history of every Christian nation has witnessed. It was doctrine that built and nourished the Inquisition, that laid waste the fields and cities of the Albigenses, that flooded the streets of Paris with the blood of Protestants, and has, in a word, caused more human misery than even the civil wars and discords of mankind. And at the present time, though it sheds no blood, the spirit that made it flow is the same as ever, for the reason that the cause, a false idea of the value of doctrine, still exists. There is hatred, black, malignant, ill-concealed hatred, or a deep mutual aversion in the hearts of all members of rival sects ; and as all are striving for the ascendancy, all sects are rivals one to another. They hate one another, or one another's doctrine — if there is practically any difference — and the aim of each is to supplant another ; and as for the measures used to reach this end, all are resorted to without flinching, that make so base and abominable the most unprincipled political partisan warfare. Misrepresentations, lyings, deceivings, backbitings and revilings, slanderous insinuations and reports, misstatements and exaggerations, libellous sermons, blas-

phemous prayers, imprecations of God's vengeance, pious frauds, all these are freely set in motion to carry a point of doctrine, or to bring suspicion and discredit on that of an opponent. And where there is, in any case, an apparent mildness and harmony, it is apparent only, since, of necessity, the same cause being the motive power, namely, a false and exaggerated idea of the value of doctrine and of our duty towards it, the heart is kept in a state of enmity, though circumstances, or natural kind affections, may lay a restraint or impose decency upon its expression. But we truly believe, that were no such restraint felt, the Catholic would, this very day and hour, drive the Protestant from his churches, or the Protestant the Catholic; the Presbyterian would turn upon the Episcopalian, and grind him to powder—the Episcopalian do the same office by the Presbyterian, and step by step, blood and ruin would ensue. The most loathsome of all tyrannies would again sit upon its filthy throne. A false estimate of the worth of doctrine has done this in ages past, and will in those to come, if it shall as formerly, keep possession of, and delude the mind.

It will be said, that it is not doctrine that has done all this, but an unrighteous bigotry to opinion, an unholy zeal. But what stirs so the zeal, and rouses and kindles to a flame the passions of men? What but the *idea* presented in the doctrine, and how can the exciting idea ever be excluded? By attaching so paramount a value to the doctrinal idea, the affections are too forcibly drawn to it, and it is made a duty of conscience to defend it. The evil comes from attaching this value to doctrine. Once attached, and a spirit of theological strife for party ends is an inevitable effect. And how is the evil aggravated by the additional excitements, springing from party combinations, and associated efforts. The spirit of theological party warfare is one too dangerous to be encouraged or permitted. It is to be dreaded as an enormous evil, a direful curse, when lashed to fury by the measures of contending sects. There is no setting limits, then, to the mischief it may do. We can never say to what lengths of uncharitableness and mutual injury it may carry us. Like another spirit, total abstinence is our only safety, the only safety for mankind. Moderate use will end in immoderate use. It has always been so, it will always be so. Our own sect has generally been moderate in its draughts, but we have heretofore seen, and now see again, signs of drunkenness. All other sects we behold contending with furious zeal for and against peculiar opinions, and we have thought that we ought to do the same. Without doing so, we fear we should not be thought to be in earnest, or to prize our faith. But

just in the proportion that we imitate others in thinking duty to peculiar doctrines a prime and essential one, shall we inevitably imitate them in their violences, and uncharitableness, against which we have heretofore so strenuously protested. As they have done, so shall we do — drink to excess, even to fatal excess, into the same spirit whose spell is too potent to be withstood by poor human nature. Total abstinence is our only hope of safety.

But these positive evils are not the only ones that have been inflicted by an exaggerated and false estimate of the importance of doctrine — of the doctrine that distinguishes one sect from another. It is well to look not only at what it has inflicted, but at what it has deprived us of. Whatever it may have conferred of worth, it has deprived us of the various pleasures of a harmonious Christian union throughout the vast body of Christ's followers in all ages. For love and union, there has been hatred and separation. Yet who can forbear to imagine how different a scene in all the ages past would have been presented, had the heart of the whole Christian world beat with the same throb of love. Yet this loss is by no means all, or the worst. It has deprived us of all the zeal and effort, of infinite treasures of wealth, hitherto wasted in sectarian movements for the ascendancy of peculiar party doctrines, which might otherwise have been directed against those real evils which Religion was sent to abate and exterminate — wickedness and sin. Who shall say what glorious scenes of virtue and of Christian union would now gladden the heart, had the moral energies and the uncounted wealth, worse than wasted in the manner and for the ends for which they have been employed, all been poured into one channel of active warfare against the hosts of sin — if sin, and not error, had been the object of attack; still more if not only Christians in separate and feeble bands, or as individuals, but in one united mass, with their whole collective force of moral feeling and concentrated action, had thrown themselves upon the vices and evil customs of mankind, how could they have stood their ground as they have done? And is it not true, that while the Church has been seen fiercely engaged through all the centuries of her history, in contending for metaphysical abstractions, for doctrinal differences, which the mass of men could not even obscurely comprehend, sin has gained fresh courage and assumed a bolder tone? It has felt as if itself were not the worst thing by any means, that speculative error, or an intellectual blunder, was a greater crime and far more hateful to God — seeing that his Church, the wise and the great, all hierarchies and powers, had so exhausted their forces in attacks upon it, as almost, often quite in the comparison, to overlook and forget it-

self. That terrific engine, the Inquisition, has been seen instituted and working its horrors against those who have thought, not those who have lived, amiss. How can unbelievers, and the world, as we call it, fail to receive impressions unfavorable to revelation, when they stand by and observe the selfish wranglings of theologians, the bitter hostilities between church and church? They behold huge conventions of Christ's ministers gathered together annually in our cities for purposes nominally religious. What are their great, their real objects, their real effects? Let the late Episcopal convention in New York answer. Are all the sects in such gatherings seen combining their powers against the universal enemy of God and man? or not rather each sect seen bending its energies to the maintenance of its own peculiar doctrine, fighting for the shadows of opinion? So, too, when the world turns over the leaves of our religious literature, how many pages of controversy about doctrine, of anger and all uncharitableness, does it find for one of a generous philanthropy, for one of a manly piety — how many of talent, of all a lawyer's astuteness, bestowed upon the subtleties of a metaphysical argument, for one of pure Christian affections kindled and glowing for any cause of human welfare? Sometimes we are inclined to think that every doctrinal pamphlet or sermon, on a subject like that of the Trinity, makes more infidels out of those who stand by and watch the absurd conflict, than it ever makes of Unitarians on the one hand, or of Trinitarians on the other.

But, it will be said, are we not to have and to set a value on our distinctive doctrine, on those shades of opinion which constitute the peculiarity of our creed? Yes; but not too high a value. Here lies the grand error of Christians. Sectarian doctrine, this doctrine about which men differ, and which we would be understood to mean when we employ the term doctrine, has had a false value put upon it, has been erected into the grand all-essential; has been, in truth, substituted in men's creeds, and affections, and reverence, for those greater absolute truths, about which all are agreed. The universal truths of Religion, concerning which there has never been dispute, are the truths we should value, about which all our affections should gather, on which we should rest our hopes. That these are the great and all-essential truths, we may feel some good assurance in the fact, that they receive, without variance, the united homage of mankind. For these, zeal can hardly be too warm, nor effort too unremitting. And it is in these grand truths in which all are agreed, wherein lies the moral force — all they ever have — of those narrower doctrines about which we differ and contend. It is not the Trinity that, as such, has effective moral force as a doc-

trine—not, that is, the peculiarity that it is three, or its *threeness*, but simply the greater truth that it is God. It is not the doctrine of Atonement that has moral force, but the truth of God's mercy through Christ, that lies behind it. And so of other like dogmas. All believe in God, in Jesus, in the future life, in retribution, in righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, in the necessity of holiness for all who would see salvation, in sin as the curse and ruin of the soul. It is these great convictions, universal throughout the Christian world, which make the only doctrines the Christian preacher should dare to name, when he stands up an ambassador of Christ, for the reconciling of the world to God. For God requires not of him to reconcile men to a belief in a Trinity; or to a rejection of it, but to Him in the obedience of a holy life. He requires him not to fight against error, for he has nowhere shown where error lies, nor what it is; but he has called on us to rest not day nor night, till Sin is driven away, and the tempted soul of man made happy in a consciousness of virtue.

Other doctrines than these great universal truths will, and may be held by Christians. There will be philosophical ways of looking at, and explaining the manner of operation of the greater absolute truths, which will give rise to a multitude of minor doctrines, but these are to be held as minor, as immeasurably subordinate to the others; they are to be held as private opinions which one is permitted to entertain for the satisfaction of his own mind, but about which he is bound not to trouble others. They are between his own soul and God; not between him and his neighbor, as if it were the consequence of a feather's weight, whether in respect of them his neighbor believes one way or another. Suppose these minor subordinate doctrines could fairly be put out of sight; suppose Christians could be made to acknowledge them as among the things indifferent, and agree to plead publicly neither for nor against them; suppose all existing sects could at once be brought to this state of mind, and turning away from sectarian differences, except as matter of private interpretation, unite their scattered forces, and their alienated affections, in one combined hearty crusade against Sin, would there be no gain? no gain to the cause of righteousness, none to the cause of true religion, none to the permanent happiness of mankind? It would be, in truth, the rising of a central Sun upon a world of chaos and of darkness. It would be the dawning of a genuine Millennium, it would be Heaven upon earth. But can all existing sects be brought to renounce each its peculiarity, and join hands for peace and righteousness? Alas, there were no possibility, at once, of such a consummation. The last thing we suppose a sect could be brought to do, would be to renounce



the peculiarity that makes it a sect differing from others, and fall back upon the universal absolute truths that make it Christian.

And yet who is not weary of contention? who is not impatient even of the sight or hearing of an argument on the Trinity, that ancient, and as time has proved, insolvable riddle, that root of bitterness and mischief? Who does not long to throw off the polemical yoke, escape from the hard trammels of party, and consecrate what power he may have to the cause of righteousness, to human welfare, to the predominant interests of piety? Perhaps, therefore, there are some in all sects who are ready to abandon the old ways of reforming the world, by forcing upon the consciences of men, at the point of the material or spiritual sword, sectarian dogmas, and instead, would be satisfied with believing Christ, through the heart unto righteousness, and with converting others, not to their own peculiar doctrine, but only from sin to holiness. Would not the spectacle be a striking and affecting one, of a body of Christians agreeing never so much as to name those things wherein they might differ from the rest of the world, nor disturbing by one single inquiry or reproach the peculiar faith of others, proclaiming for their creed only those universal truths in which all unite, and giving all the energies of their nature to their own and the world's redemption, not from errors of the head, but from the sins of the life? Would not the singularity simply, of a sect of Christians making, not a doctrine, but a life, their rallying point, "Holiness unto the Lord," their motto and aim, not a metaphysical subtlety—would not this absolute originality strike the mind, and the imaginations of men, and possibly start the inquiry, whether, if such were the sole aim of all Christian sects instead of one, there might not arise a better prospect of the regeneration of the world.

Are the results of what Christians have accomplished during nearly two thousand years so very satisfactory, that we can desire no change in the methods of operation that have been hitherto adopted? Could anything *worse* happen; could the progress of virtue and of truth possibly be slower, if for the principles of universal religious warfare which have hitherto been acted upon, there were now to be substituted principles of universal peace and union, of the most perfect indifference to the doctrinal distinctions that have so long engrossed the regards of Christians? One cannot but think the experiment worth the trying, that nothing at least could be lost by it; and that they would do a good and a great work who would call those only their Christian doctrines in which all Christians agree; and never so much as name publicly, or as a matter of dispute, those in which they differ, and would then direct all the strength, that would thus be spared from the most exhaust

ing party warfare, to advancing the moral, religious, spiritual interests of mankind.

A defence, however, is made of controversy, and of this minute subdivision into sects. The world, it is said, is kept by such means wide awake; there is life at least. If there is life, it is a sort of troubled spasmodic life, an afflicted angry life, which seems far removed from such a life, as the teaching and the life of Jesus promise. We trust some better form of Christian life is yet to be evolved as an effect of Christian truth. But it is not true, it is, in our judgment, little other than libellous to affirm of our nature, that there can be religious life only as there shall be contention. We need not, however, reason about it; facts, recent history, show that moral enterprises are capable of exciting as much enthusiasm at the present day, as ever a good-for-nothing point of Calvinism has done in former days, or can now. The zeal, yet the wisely tempered zeal, and the moral effort in the great cause of temperance, show that the heart of the people is not quite dead, that it is readily and deeply stirred by a moral cause; and make it quite reasonable to believe, that by and by the time will come, when religion, simply as a moral principle, a principle of righteousness, a principle of moral reform, a guide of life, a saviour of the soul through holiness, not through doctrine, will awaken in the minds of men a thousand times the gratitude for its gift, as a thousand times the ardor in its service, that it ever has done as standing for those peculiar doctrines, to which men have ascribed salvation, and for which, accordingly, that they might have their triumphant way, they have kept the world in arms.

The example of Jesus recommends this indifference to doctrinal error, this single-hearted predominant devotion to the moral, the practical, the spiritual, the devotional. Doubtless there were as many metaphysical subtleties afloat in his day, among the Jews, as there have been since. Doubtless there were a thousand questions of opinion, dividing Jew from Jew, in that time, just as there are similar questions dividing asunder Christians now. At any rate, there were the sects of Pharisees, Sadducees, Herodians and Essenes, with their respective philosophies, for all the great subjects of human thought, about which their affections and interests gathered, and on whose prevalence they believed, as Christians believe concerning theirs, the life of the world to hang. Did Jesus enter into these questions? Did he so much as touch them? He gave himself little concern about speculative error; he took little pains to set it right. He was engrossed by larger cares, by more universal truths, by the moral and spiritual; and in correcting religious errors, he did it, not by controverting them, so much as by preaching the great positive truths that

would slowly, but surely, reform them, and in the end take their place. How can it be doubted that, if Christians, forgetting other things, forgetting speculative error, error of the intellect, would consecrate themselves to the service of the great moral interests of mankind, Christianity would show itself, more than it has ever done before, to be the power of God unto salvation. Is it not true, that just so far as any peculiar glory, and special triumphs are to be mentioned in her honor, as having accrued in the present age, their cause and origin are to be found in a total abandonment of the old methods of sectarian warfare, in a forgetting and a neglect of doctrine,—are to be found distinctly in moral action, in the reform of evil practices and customs? If Christians banded themselves against other sins, as they have done against the sin of drunkenness, sinking wholly out of sight party names and doctrine, can it be doubted that the same success would ensue, and a new Heaven, and a new Earth bless our eyes?

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*A Discourse on the Character and Writings of William Ellery Channing, D. D.* BY ORVILLE DEWEY, Pastor of the Church of the Messiah in New York. New York: Charles S. Francis and Company. 1843. pp. 40.

THIS discourse of Dr. Dewey easily places itself at the head of all those, that have been written upon the life and character of Dr. Channing. There is visible throughout a larger, freer grasp of the subject; it shows a great mind analysed and criticised by another fully capable of appreciating both its capacities and its achievements—itsself scarcely inferior. If we wished to present to another, by a single comprehensive glance, reaching before and after, above and around, what Dr. Channing was and did, we should place in his hands this discourse. It is all true, yet without exaggeration; it is but a sketch, yet, like the free sketches of the great masters in another art, it possesses more power than if all the details were filled in by a less skilful hand; it is marked by great unity of plan, at the same time that there is no want of variety in the topics, or of completeness in the finished work. There could hardly have been a more appropriate discourse for the late Providence Convention, where it was repeated, bearing as closely upon the interests, and addressing itself as strictly to the wants of the profession, as if it had been written with reference to such an occasion. Seeing how the subject was handled, there could hardly have been a more apt and profitable "*concio ad clerum*."

It is matter of general congratulation, that Dr. Dewey has returned after a long absence, with so much strength for the great

and most important duties of his place, a place that not only of necessity calls him to the most exhausting labors, but exposes him also as a particularly desirable mark for the attacks of those fallen spirits, who, through false witnessing against him, would love to stab the character of a whole denomination. It is a grief, that so soon after his return after a two years' absence, he should have become the object of the low abuse of that veteran maligner, Dr. Cox, which, however, would have fallen dead and despised even among his own party, who knew sufficiently the worthlessness of that person's random speech, had it not been caught up here by an idle press and blazoned before the world. He needed not to have given it a second thought. Slander originating in such quarters refutes itself.

Dr. Dewey's Discourse is an answer to the question, What was the mission of Channing's life? The answer in brief is, "It was to set forth the True, the Right, the Godlike, and to portray its loveliness and majesty." More at length it is given in the following words.

"This then, I say, was the mission of Channing. And certainly I do not know the man of the present day, who has done more to stamp upon the world the sense of the True, the Right, the Godlike, than Channing. His work in this respect was not technical, not what is ordinarily called philosophical; that of the highest genius seldom is so; it was the work of inward meditation and prayer. Especially in him it was a sacred, a religious work. From the adoring contemplation of what God is, from that altar he brought the burning and luminous thought of what man should be. There was a consecration to him of this theme. Every thing about it was invested with a solemn, religious light. He knew no true grandeur in man, but a divine grandeur. He questioned much what the world calls greatness, however lauded and idolized; he had set up another and purer idea of greatness in his own mind; and no prophet of modern times, I think, has done so much to break down the idol, and to establish the true worship instead." — pp. 5, 6.

The preacher goes on then to speak of the "forms which this labor of his life assumed," and shows that in his preaching, in his writings, in his conversation, he was true to this one great aim. Dr. Dewey's description of the eloquence of Channing will strike those, who have heard that great preacher, as eminently just.

"He would never lend himself to the popular and taking forms of pulpit display, wherewith either to alarm or overawe or astonish or charm the hearer. He never attempted any graphic representation of heaven or hell, of the last Judgment or of the sinner's peril; though no preacher, perhaps, had ever at command the stores of a richer imagination. But all was sober in his administration of religion. To utter the truth, the naked truth, was his highest aim and ambition. The

effect, he was willing to leave with God and with the heart of the hearer. He never seemed to labor so much to enforce truth as to utter it; but this kind of utterance, this swelling and almost bursting of the inmost heart to express itself, was the most powerful enforcement. There was always, however, a chastening and restraining hand laid upon the strong nature within; and this manner has led some, I believe, to deny to Channing the gift of the highest eloquence. I know not what they call eloquence; but this restrained emotion always seems to me, I must say, one of its most touching demonstrations; and surely that which reaches the heart and unlocks the fountains of tears, is its very essence; and that which penetrates to the still depths of the conscience, that lie beneath tears, is its very awfulness and grandeur. Such was the eloquence of Channing. I shall never forget the effect upon me, of the first sermon I ever heard from him. Shall I confess too, that holding then a faith somewhat different from his, I listened to him with a certain degree of distrust and prejudice? These barriers, however, soon gave way; and such was the effect of the simple and heart-touching truths and tones, which fell from his lips, that it would have been a relief to me to have bowed my head and to have wept without restraint throughout the whole service. And yet I did not weep; for there was something in that impression too solemn and deep for tears. I claim perfection for nothing human; and perhaps, my idea of this kind of communication goes beyond anything I have ever heard. No words ever realized it, but those calm and solemn words of Jesus Christ, at which the heart stands still to listen; and which it is wonderful that any body dares ever to dilute into prolix comments. But certainly no preaching, that I have heard, has come so near, in this respect, to the model in my mind — I say not irreverently the great model — as the preaching of Channing. And I should not omit to mention another trait in his religious sensibility, that imparted to its manifestations a peculiar interest. And this trait seems to me so marked and unusual, as to be worthy of a moment's comment. In most men's religious feeling, I believe, there is something singularly general and vague. Their emotions revolve about this sacred theme rather than penetrate into it; and though it is bedewed with their tears, only the more do their thoughts glide about the surface. They weep; but they do not think; they do not meditate their religion deeply in their hearts. And thus their discourse has a general truth, without any discriminating pertinence; their words taken together have a meaning, but there is not a meaning in every word; there is no inward prompting to make them use the words they do use, rather than some other words of the same general import. The pen that writes them is not dipped in the heart. In short, you know that there is not any such reality in most men's religion, as is felt and seen in the sentiments that attach them to home, to kindred, to all the palpable interests of this life. But it was not so with the remarkable and venerated person of whom I speak. His thoughts on this theme, the deep and living verities of his own experience, had an original impress, a marked individuality, a heartfelt truth, and a singular power to penetrate the heart. His words had a strange and heart-stirring vitality. Some living power within seemed to preside over the selection and tone of every word, and to give it more than the force and weight of a whole discourse

from other men. Many have I known so to feel this touching influence, not only in the church but by the fire-side and in the friendly circle, that they could scarcely restrain their feelings within the bounds of domestic and social decorum." — pp. 8 – 11.

For the sake of the authority of his true and earnest words, we extract the remarks of Dr. Dewey on the slavery publications of Dr. Channing.

"The publications which next demand our notice are those upon the subject of slavery. In these writings we still see the same great and generous mind at work, engaged in its natural and rightful vocation, the expounder of duty, the vindicator of lofty right and reason, the defender of sacred and eternal principle against all human conventions. I honor this noble champion of the oppressed, while I have some doubts as to the practical result to which his reasonings led him. That is to say, I have no doubt as to what is to be felt, but I have some doubt, I have much doubt, and difficulty, as to what is to be done.

This is not the place to discuss the point; for it requires a discourse of itself. Nor is it demanded of us in considering the writings of Channing. For his mission was, not so much to propose remedies, as to arouse the public conscience. He did not connect himself with any specific associations or measures for relief, but simply entered that great field of discussion which is the rightful domain of all intelligent minds; of all men who are not prepared themselves to be slaves.

"This is not only our rightful province, but it is the only province open to us. Direct interference with slavery is out of our power. The only legitimate influence we can exert upon it must come in the form of argument. This was the chosen field of Channing. Who will say he had not a right to enter it? How he acquitted himself in this field, is, indeed, the question; for the right of discussion is no guarantee for right discussion. On this question there will, of course, be different opinions. To say that I do myself agree with him in every point, is more than one independent mind can well say of another.

"But, passing by all questions about the philosophy of the case, and the methods of relief, I cannot refuse to see, in the general conduct of this argument, a master's hand, a work throughout of unsurpassed strength and beauty. Never, any where, I think, have I more felt the power of Channing's mind and style, than in these writings. It seems as if the nerve of moral indignation had compressed and clenched his thought within the narrowest possible compass. The themes, indeed, were well fitted to touch a mind like his. What a *man* is *worth*; what is the sanctity of a soul; what is the sacredness of a nature allied, affiliated to God; and what is the wrong of setting a human foot to crush down that nature; what is the wrong of bringing a mass of mere earthly conveniences and pleasures to extinguish that spark of heavenly fire, only that *they* may be brightened and warmed for a moment; what is the wrong of chaining an angel-nature to the plough that tills our fields, or to the chariot that rolls upon our highways; all this is set forth in burning words, which, when all this angry disputing shall be done, will stand as golden mottoes in the books of emancipated tribes and races of men. Yes; all this is true. I speak not of those who,

involved in this relationship without their own agency, feel the tremendous moral solecism which it involves, and would gladly escape from it. But for the slave-holder, that defends his position as a lawful and righteous one, or means to hold on to it, right or wrong, because it is a matter of property, I say, all this is true; it is terrible truth: it is truth too high for any mortal hand to beat down. Let men reason as they will; let them defend, explain, qualify, soften the matter as they will; my heart tells me that I was not made to be a slave, and I believe that every man's heart tells him the same thing. The slave-master's heart tells him that, and it would revolt at the supposition that any combination of circumstances, any leagued principalities and powers, though they were an hierarchy of angels, should crush out his nature's birth-right, by making him a slave. And if he will voluntarily inflict this condition upon another, I deem it not too solemn to remind him of a Word that says, "with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." — pp. 20–23.

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*Guide for writing Latin; consisting of rules and examples for practice.* By JOHN PHILIP KREBS, Doctor of Philosophy and principal School Director in the Duchy of Nassau. *From the German by Samuel H. Taylor*; Principal of Phillips Academy. Andover: Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell. New York: M. H. Newman. 1843. 12mo. pp. 479.

THE name of the translator, and the fact that Dr. Beck read the work in manuscript and has introduced it into the course of instruction in Cambridge, speak much in its favor. And indeed it has many excellences. It appears to be in itself a complete Latin grammar, and the author treats that most puzzling subject, the dependence of Latin words and tenses, in a clear and intelligible manner. Yet we have also strong feelings, prejudices it may be, against the book, not only from its formidable size, but from the childlike understanding, which the first part of it especially appears to attribute to the pupil, in making so many simple obvious remarks, which are true to be sure, but which appear to us to swell the size of the book unnecessarily. We doubt very much whether a child may not be better employed than in studying Latin at all; and whether a young man would not do better in a careful reading of classic writers, than in spending so much time in the writing of Latin as the size of this book would seem to imply. Some time, however, he should so spend, more than is usually bestowed by students in this country, and perhaps no guide will be so useful to him as judicious selections from this work.

The translator in his preface, says, "The author has made it his object to guard against giving the student too much or too little assistance." How far the author has succeeded in this, each

teacher who uses it will of course judge for himself. We think he has erred in giving the scholar too much aid; and in some places, so much that the scholar himself will be tired of it.

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*Elements of Algebra, being an Abridgment of Day's Algebra, adapted to the capacities of the young, and the method of instruction in schools and academies.* By JAMES B THOMPSON, A. M. New Haven: Durrie and Peck. 1844. 12mo. pp. 252.

All men cannot study the same sciences; and even those who do, cannot use the same text books. Different orders of minds, different purposes of study, different opportunities of leisure, require different aids. To those of decided taste for mathematics, or those of mature mind who wish to pursue that science, or for those whose intended profession requires an acquaintance with it, we know of no elementary course equal to that of Professor Peirce. But those who wish to take a humbler walk, and not stray beyond the bounds of simple Algebra, will perhaps find other treatises more suitable for them than his.

Day's Algebra has been much used in our schools and colleges, and the present abridgment, made at the author's request by Mr. Thomson, is, we think more useful than the original work. Many writers on Mathematics become obscure in their diffuse attempts at simplification. The present treatise is clear, simple, and concise, and in reading it we were pleased with the general justness of the views. A few lines, however, seem to us to be wanted in further explanation of negative exponents. In another place, the brevity and carelessness of some remarks on negative roots might lead the pupil to think, that positive roots were the only real ones. But in the very example in question, 10 and 40 are really parts of 30, whose product is eight times their difference, as 24 and 6 are. These are, however, but small blemishes compared with the general merits of the book.

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*The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, and Power thereof, according to the Word of God, by that Learned and Judicious Divine, Mr. JOHN COTTON, Teacher of the Church at Boston, in New-England, Tending to reconcile some present difficulties about Discipline.* Boston: Reprinted by Tappan & Dennet, 1843. 12mo. pp. 108.

A TREATISE upon congregationalism, being a reprint of that well known tract upon the subject, by "the learned and



judicious divine, Mr. John Cotton." With good judgment and taste the volume is an exact copy in form, spelling, border-work and all, of the original work. While Presbyterianism and Episcopacy are rejoicing in their defences and defenders, it is well that the true church, howbeit she might well throw herself upon the plain language and intent of Scripture, as the best and her all-sufficient foundation, should also be able to point to her champions. We hope the editor of the present little volume will find the encouragement he wishes, and issue, as he proposes to do, other reprints of a similar character.

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THE two last volumes of Mr. Norton's work upon the genuineness of the Gospels, have just appeared, published by John Owen. They are among the most beautiful specimens of our modern typography. The second volume contains, of the text, 279 pages, with 200 of notes; the third volume, 324 of text, and 80 of notes. The public will learn with the highest satisfaction, that the present work is not to terminate Mr. Norton's invaluable labors in the defence of our religion, but that we may look for a volume on the internal evidences of Christianity, to appear at the same time with a new translation of the Gospels. He thus announces his design at the close of his preface. "The three volumes now published, contain such a view, as it has been in my power to give, of the historical evidence, both direct and subsidiary, of the genuineness of the Gospels. Should my life and health be continued, it is my purpose to add another volume concerning the internal evidences of their genuineness. But I wish this to appear simultaneously with a new translation of the Gospels, accompanied by explanatory notes, on which I have been long engaged. Such a translation seems to me a necessary basis for the volume proposed, while the volume may serve as an introduction to the translation."

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WE have received from the Rev. G. Armstrong, of Lewin's Mead, Bristol, England, copies of an Address of the Unitarian Clergy of England and Ireland, to those of the United States, on the subject of Slavery, — which, if it had been received a few days earlier, would have been printed at length in our present number. As it is, a copy of the English edition will be sent to every clergyman with his Examiner; and the remainder will be, a part, distributed in the way indicated by Mr. Armstrong, and a part left at the store of Munroe & Co., for the use of those who may call for them. — Accompanying these, was sent a copy of the same address, beautifully engrossed

upon a large sheet of parchment, with the signatures attached to it of more than an hundred of the ministers of England and Ireland. This will, for the present, be deposited with Messrs. Munroe & Co., where it can be seen.

Messrs. Munroe & Co. will shortly publish a reprint of Sermons by the Rev. James Martineau, of Liverpool, in one volume, 12mo. Also, a volume of Doctrinal Sermons by the Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. They have in press a new edition of Professor Sparks's Letters to Wyatt, on the Episcopal controversy.

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#### EDITORIAL NOTICE.

THE present Editor's connexion with the Examiner, which commenced with the year 1839 (the first number of that year was issued by his predecessors), terminates with the present number. The subscribers and the public have already been informed, and the information is here only repeated, that a union has taken place between the Examiner and the Miscellany, and that the new publication, still under the name of the Examiner, and retaining essentially the same form, will be issued under the joint editorial care of Dr. Lamson and Dr. Gannett, gentlemen who will command the entire respect and confidence of the literary and religious community. In order that the work may flourish, a large increase of subscribers is needed. But they can be obtained only through the active exertions of our ministers. In very many of our parishes, not a single copy of the Examiner is taken; and in many of the largest and most wealthy, but one, two, or three. The people are, frequently, ignorant even of the existence of the work; while if they were informed of that fact by their pastors, and the character of the work were truly described to them, very many would find it to be the very book they want, and would gladly receive it. In a single instance, many years ago, where such information was communicated, it was considered as a favor done, and the names of subscribers at once rose from some fifteen or twenty to eighty. Let the clergy, if they approve of the work, take an interest in its circulation, and the present number of subscribers were very easily doubled. Without their coöperation the travelling agent can accomplish nothing.

The title and index of the present volume will be sent out with the next number.

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